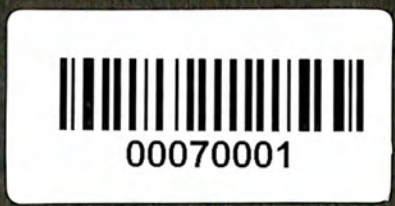

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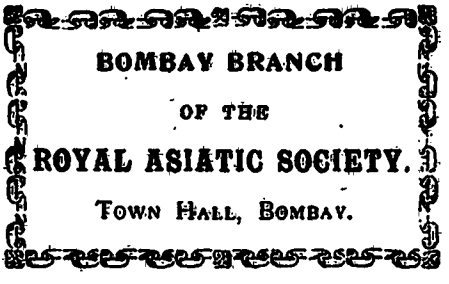

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RESEARCHES

INTO THE

PHYSICAL HISTORY

OF

MANKIND.

7000/

BY

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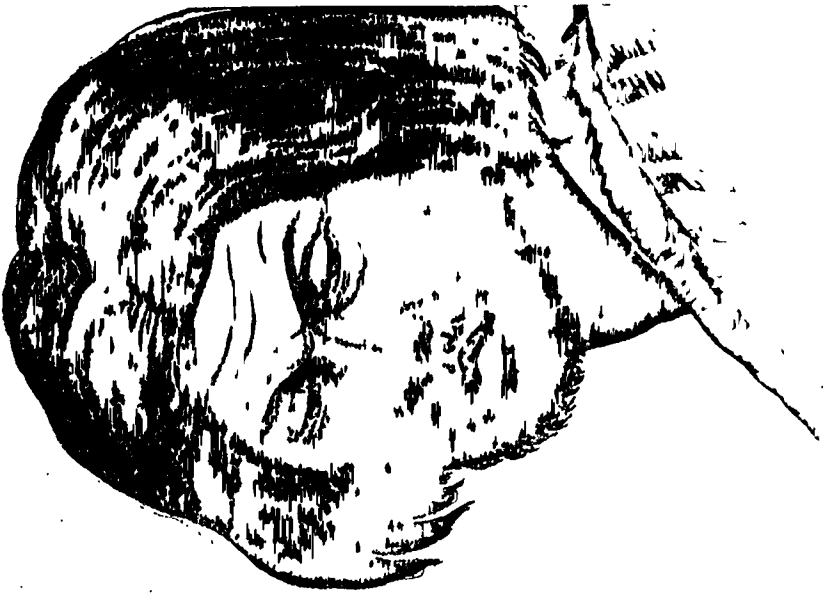

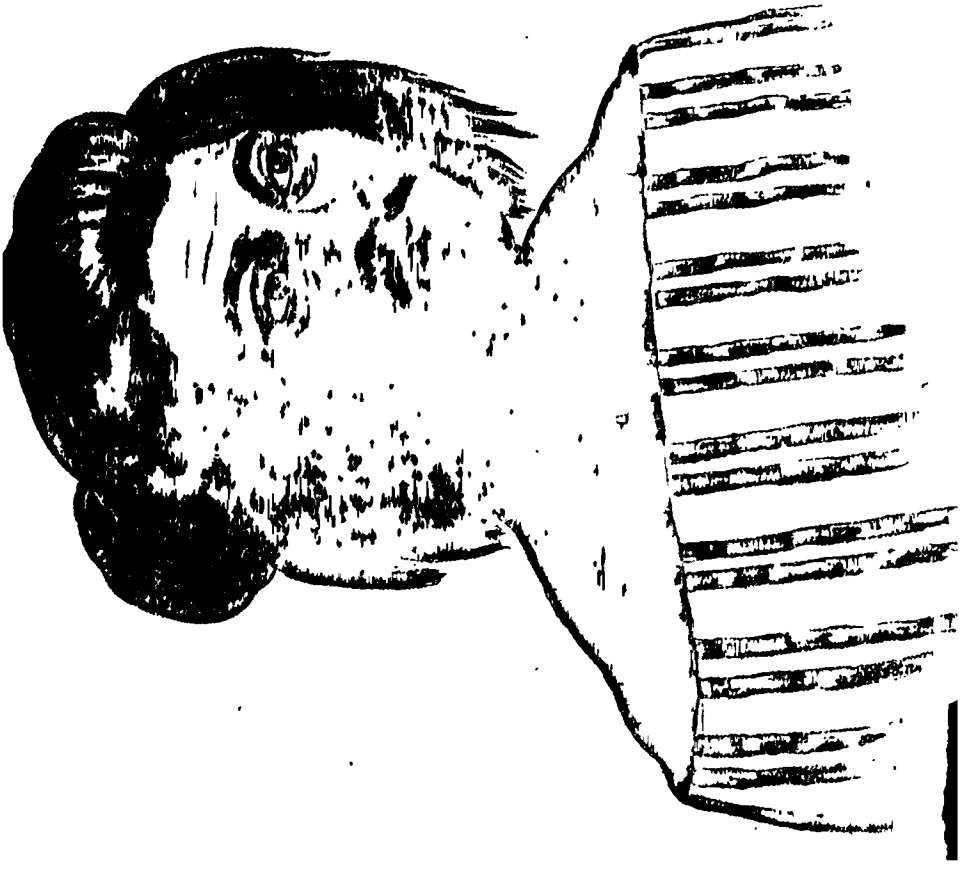

ETHNOGRAPHY

OF THE

OCEANIC NATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL SURVEY.

SECTION I.—*Geographical Outline.*

THE Great Southern Ocean, together with the numerous islands and groupes of islands included within its limits, has been reckoned by modern geographers as constituting a fifth division of the globe. The name of Oceanica has been given to this region by Malte-Brun and by other writers who have followed him. The boundaries of Oceanica in the widest acceptation of that name are, on one side, the eastern coast of Africa; on the other, the western shores of the New World. In latitude it extends from the coast of Asia southwards without limit, including all the insulated lands that have been discovered in the Austral Seas. The Island of Madagascar and Easter Island in the Pacific are the extreme parts within this vast space which are recognised as inhabited countries of Oceanica. In the Northern Pacific alone its extent may be subject to some doubt. The Kurilian and Aleutian Islands are not usually reckoned as belonging to it, because they are known to be inhabited by races of people who came immediately from the adjacent continents,

and are unconnected with those tribes of the human race who peopled the remote islands of the Great Ocean. The Aleutian and Kurilian chains are rather looked upon as forming the northern boundary of this fifth region of the world, and with the coasts of Asia and America as completing its littoral termination. The most northerly groupes within the circuit of Oceanica and inhabited by its peculiar races are the Sandwich Islands in the eastern part, and the Marian Islands and the great Archipelago of the Carolines to the west.

The habitable countries of Oceanica are various in their productions and in their geological formation. The great islands of the Indian Archipelago, situated between the tropics and almost under the equator, display the luxuriance of vegetation which belongs to intertropical climates. They are covered in many parts by lofty forests containing the largest and fiercest quadrupeds, a great variety of reptiles, and birds of the most splendid plumage. Some of these countries are of primitive formation, and this formation perhaps extends eastward as far as New Zealand, where, as it is well known, the fossil remains of gigantic birds have been discovered. Other oceanic lands are of volcanic origin, and some of these are of great elevation. In the most remote groupes of the Pacific are mountains consisting of volcanic rocks bearing summits with craters still burning or effete. The Philippines are often agitated by subterranean fires, and the whole cluster of the Moluccas are shaken by the eruptions of the fiery Gilolo.* On the shores of the lofty Papua, which includes New Guinea, New Britain, and New Ireland, the number of burning mountains is unknown. It is already ascertained that there are in Oceanica more numerous still-burning volcanos than in all the remainder of the world. The low islands of Oceanica are of a different description. They consist of immense masses of coral broken down and accumulated. Each island has for its foundation a reef of coral rocks disposed in a form more or less circular, and generally enclosing a lagoon. Some of these islands, though of considerable extent, are but a few feet in elevation above the surface of the surrounding ocean.

* Malte-Brun.

In this great region, which presents such immense varieties of climate and soil and geographical position, we should expect to find, if any where, great diversities in the physical characters of the human tribes to which it affords habitation.

Section II.—*Of the Human Inhabitants of Oceanica.—Different Races and Groupes of Nations.*

The tribes of people who inhabit the widely-spread tracts of this great Oceanic region differ among themselves and from the rest of mankind in physical and moral characters. Some of them bear certain traits of resemblance to the bordering nations of the coasts which surround the Great Ocean on different sides; but none of these traits are so strongly marked or of such a kind as to identify the insular tribes with those of the adjacent main lands, or to afford satisfactory proof that the islanders are descended from the continental nations. We can neither deduce the tribes of the Oceanic isles from the races of people who inhabit the Peruvian Cordillera on the eastern border of the great basin of the ocean, nor from the inhabitants of the South African mountain-ridges which enclose it on the western side. The only continental region where human tribes exist plainly allied to the native races of the islands is the south-eastern extremity of Asia, on the remarkable promontory which may be regarded as a southward prolongation of that continent into the Indian Ocean. There,—namely, in the peninsula of Malacca,—tribes of wild people inhabit inland tracts, who are different from each other in physical characters, and who bear a marked resemblance to more than one of the races of the Great Ocean. It is possible that this may have been the point from which all these races originally came. It must, however, be observed that the inhabitants of the Malayan coast, who are known to be allied to the natives of the adjacent islands, are believed, on apparently sufficient grounds, to have been originally colonies from the islands.

I propose to distinguish the whole collective body of these native races of the Great Ocean by the name of Oceanic or

Pelagian nations. Polynesian they have been often called, but that term has been applied of late to a particular division of them, and is no longer fit to be used as a general name. Under this appellation of Oceanic races several different descriptions of people are comprehended.

The whole collective body of these native races of the Great Ocean are termed Oceanic or Pelagian nations. They are divided into three principal groupes. The first, which alone can be described with propriety as a particular race or family of nations, comprehends the numerous and widely dispersed Malayo-Polynesian tribes, who, though in some instances displaying certain diversities in physical characters and manners, are proved by a decided affinity of dialects to be originally of one kindred. Next to these we must place a groupe of nations who are very inferior to the Malayo-Polynesians in arts and civilisation, and differ from them remarkably in physical characters. These nations also differ from each other in stature and bodily conformation: the characteristic which is common to them is a certain approach in colour, features, and particularly in the nature of their hair, to the Negro races of Africa. In this last particular there is, however, a great difference among them. Some tribes, as the Papuas of New Guinea, have spiral and twisted hair growing in large tufts to a considerable length, which, when combed out, forms an immense frizzled mass enveloping the head with a sort of periwig of great circumference. Other tribes have hair growing in short and closely frizzled curls like the Negroes of Guinea. We cannot comprise all these nations under the designation of Papuas, which belongs to a particular division of them. I shall term them for the sake of distinction Pelagian or Oceanic Negroes. I am aware that some objections may be made to this appellation, but I can discover no other name that is on the whole more suitable. The third department of Oceanic nations have been termed Alfourous, Haraforas, and Alforians. To this division the Australian tribes have been referred, and the Alforas have been described as resembling the Australians in the shape of their heads, which display a peculiar type, and in the nature of their hair, which is not crisp or woolly, but straight and long. Of the

history of these nations we have very little information on which reliance can be placed. The Australians are the only race included among them whose language is known to be distinct from the Polynesian. As to the various tribes of the islands in the Archipelago referred by voyagers to the Alfo-rian people, it is still undetermined whether they are allied to the Polynesian or Australian stock, or constitute a sepa-rate family.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE MALAYO-POLYNESIAN NATIONS.

SECTION I.—*General Survey and Subdivision of these Nations.*

THE name of Malayo-Polynesian is given to all those nations of the Great Southern Ocean whose dialects have been found to bear an affinity to the language of the Malays. This is well known to be the case with a great number of tribes spread over different groupes of islands between Madagascar near the coast of Africa, and Teape or Easter Island, which is distant not more than forty degrees from the western sea-border of South America. The affinity of these tribes was inferred from the resemblances of their dialects by Captain Cook and his companions; and since their time it has been made the subject of careful investigation by Marsden, Crawfurd, and other learned writers, but more especially by the great philologer Baron William von Humboldt.

The ancient abode of the Malayo-Polynesian tribes, or the primitive home of the race, so far as historical traditions and inquiries afford us information, was on some of the islands of the Indian Ocean. The Malayan settlements on the coast of the Peninsula are known to be of late origin and comparatively modern colonies from Java and Sumatra. Still more recent are the trading stations of Malayan people on the coast of the Chinese Sea and the Gulf of Siam.* Elsewhere we find the Malayo-Polynesian race existing only in islands at a distance from the coast of the Asiatic continent.

A closer affinity prevails between the idioms of the tribes

* W. von Humboldt, über die Kawi-Sprache.

denominated Western Malayan nations than between their languages and those of the Pacific Ocean. The former may be almost said to be dialects of one language, since these idioms, as M. de Humboldt has demonstrated, are susceptible of analysis by the same grammatical rules, and consist of elements common to all the nations of this department. In the Philippine Islands this common speech displays the fullest and most varied and elaborate developement of grammatical forms, which are less complete in the cognate idioms of Java, Sumatra, Malacca, and Madagascar. These languages taken together with the Philippine dialects constitute the Western Malayan stem, as far as it can as yet be extended on the basis of grammatical analysis. There is, however, good reason for believing that the dialects of Celebes, and perhaps also those of Borneo, belong to the same department, while, from resemblances in many words and in the significant names of places, it has been inferred that the same idiom is spread over many smaller islands, and even over the whole Indian Archipelago from Sumatra to New Guinea.

To the eastward of the West Malayan region is that of the Polynesian nations. These are tribes scattered over groupes of islands in the Great Southern Ocean, similar in manners and customs to the most rude of the West Malayan islanders, or to those tribes whose simple and primeval state has not been altered by modern habits introduced by the Mohammedan Malays, or by an earlier intercourse with the people of Continental India. The strongest bond of connection between these nations is the diffusion among all of them of the unquestionable remains of a common speech. The languages even of the distantly separated Oceanic tribes, although more remote from the West Malayan dialects than those dialects are among themselves, have been proved by a most accurate analysis not only to have with them and with each other a fundamental vocabulary common to all, but to have been formed by the same laws of construction and grammatical principles. The Polynesian languages which have been most accurately examined and compared by M. de Humboldt are those of New Zealand, of Tahiti, of Tonga, and of the

Sandwich Islands. The nations who speak these languages have laws of society and institutions which separate them from the class of absolute barbarians. They have, for example, a systematic plan of civil government, religious ordinances, and a sort of spiritual or sacerdotal caste: they display skill in various manufactures and in the art of navigation, to which they are all addicted. Traces are found among them in various quarters of a sacred or hieratic language. Their habit of recalling to memory on particular solemn occasions the antiquated expressions of this language indicates a regard to history and the recording of past times which belongs to ages of mental refinement. The Polynesian nations, properly so termed, are ignorant of alphabetic writing, and had, therefore, no literature; but they had cultivated an impressive eloquence and a sort of poetry founded on a regular and artificial system of tones, and they had proverbial maxims indicative of deep reflection. With all these marks of improvement they still retained customs of the most revolting description, and such as appear incompatible with any advancement towards real civilisation. The languages and the habits of the Polynesian tribes afford, as in the opinion of M. de Humboldt, a picture or specimen of the condition of society and manner of existence once common to the whole Malayo-Polynesian family of nations, in their more simple and more ancient and probably their original state.

Besides the four principal Polynesian groupes already mentioned, viz. the people of New Zealand, the Tahitian, Tongan, and Sandwich Islands, there are several clusters or separate islands in the remote regions of the Pacific Ocean who clearly belong to the same department of the race, though it may not be easy to say always to which branch they are most nearly allied. I shall describe them nearly in the order of their local proximity to each groupe. Among them are the natives of the Archipelago of Paumotu, perhaps belonging to the Tahitian division.

Two other subdivisions of people more or less nearly allied to the same family remain to be distinguished. To the westward of the Tonga Islands is the Fíjían or Vítían groupe, the

natives of which, though differing from the rest of the stock, yet speak a Polynesian dialect. To the northward of the equator and westward of the meridian of the Tonga Isles, several clusters of greater or less extent are spread through the region intervening between this limit and the Philippine Isles. The most extensive among them are the Archipelago of the Carolines and that of the Marian Isles. I shall comprise all these groupes under the name of the Micronesian Archipelago, which will be explained in its proper place.

SECTION II.—*Of the Nature of the Affinity discovered between the Malayo-Polynesian Languages, and of the different Opinions as to its Origin.*

The existence of so remarkable a connection between the idioms of nations separated from each other by wide seas, and inhabiting islands at the remote and almost extreme parts of the Great Southern Ocean, admits of two explanations, each of which has found advocates. The most obvious supposition is that these islands were first peopled by families emigrating from one spot and originating from the same stock. This is the hypothesis that was adopted by the first voyagers who observed the phenomena of resemblance, and maintained by Mr. Marsden, who first investigated with accuracy the history of the Indian Archipelago. By Marsden the insular nations were considered as colonies from the original Malays whose abode was in the Island of Sumatra. Their common speech was termed by him the Great Polynesian language. The idioms of all the islanders were supposed to have become diversified through lapse of time and various accidents, but to have been originally the same. He thus expresses himself.

"The idiom of the Malays is a branch or dialect of the widely extended language prevailing throughout the islands of the Archipelago to which it gives name, (which may be understood to comprehend the Sunda, Philippine, and Moluccа Islands,) and those of the South Sea; comprehending between Madagascar on the one hand, and Easter Island on

the other, both inclusive, the space of two hundred degrees of longitude." "The various dialects of this speech, though they have a wonderful accordance in many essential properties, have experienced those changes which separation, time and accident produce, and in respect to the purposes of intercourse may be classed into several languages, differing considerably from each other."* The same author observes in another place, that "this language comprehends a wider space than the Roman, or any other tongue, has yet boasted." "In different places it has been more or less mixed or corrupted, but between the most dissimilar branches an evident sameness of radical words is apparent; and in some very distant from each other in point of situation, as for instance the Philippines and Madagascar, the deviation of words is scarcely more than is observed in the dialects of neighbouring provinces of the same kingdom."†

A very different notion on this subject has been maintained by the able writer of the 'History of the Indian Archipelago.' Mr. Crawfurd was far from adopting the notion that all these insular nations are branches of one original race. He founds a contrary opinion on an examination of the different dialects found in the Indian Ocean. It is Mr. Crawfurd's conclusion, that "after abstracting all the additions and modifications derived from foreign influence, Indian, Arabian, and European, the idioms of the insular nations of the Indian Archipelago admit of separation into two distinct parts. One of these is the primitive stock of words belonging to the rude horde from which each tribe originated:" this is looked upon by Mr. Crawfurd as the radical portion of the language, and every particular tribe is by him considered as a distinct race having an original stock of words of its own, being itself properly indigenous. The second part of each idiom is supposed to have been derived from a foreign language spread by a more civilised people by means of maritime intercourse and conquest over the whole Archipelago. This is termed by Mr. Crawfurd the Great Polynesian language. He is of opinion that the class of words derived from the Great Poly-

* Asiatic Researches, vol. x. p. 166. † History of Sumatra, p. 20[illegible]

nesian language are generally such as belong to the first great steps in the progress of civilization, arguing thence that civilization and improvement emanated from the people who spoke it. "The following," he says, "may be enumerated as examples: the names of useful plants and grains, such as rice, Indian corn, sugar-cane, &c.; words connected with the necessary arts, such as modes of husbandry, weaving; the names of the useful metals, and of domestic animals. The words for *weaving*, the *shuttle*, the *warp* and the *woof*, are, as far as my information extends, the same in every language of the Archipelago. Iron and gold are generally known by the same terms; but silver and copper, of foreign introduction, are usually known by a Sanskrit name. The domestic animals are commonly known by one general name; while the wild ones of the same race, in those countries where they are indigenous, have a distinct name in each separate dialect."

"Words connected with arts so simple and necessary as to imply no invention, but which must at once have occurred to the most untutored savages, will be found distinct in each language. In such arts the use of the rattan and bamboo, the native and abundant growth of every country of the Archipelago, is perpetually implied, and these plants therefore retain their primitive names in every separate language.

"One of the most striking examples of the influence of a general Polynesian language in the civilisation of the ruder tribes, may be adduced from a collation of the numerals of the different languages. We are not to suppose that even the rudest tribes required to be taught the rudiments of an art which has its origin in the very nature of man and language, but the extension and improvement of that art may evidently be traced to one source. The numerals of the more improved tribes are, with few exceptions, and making proper allowance for varieties of orthography, the same in all. In all, however, relics of an original enunciation may be discovered. In the less improved, these relics are considerable in the lower part of the scale. In a few, the original numerals continue unaltered so far, but in the higher all agree in borrowing from the same source, from the Great Polynesian.

"Besides the class of words now alluded to, a very considerable number of the most familiar and ordinary words of every language will be found the same throughout the most cultivated languages. Such words, for example, as sun, moon, star, sky, stone, earth, fire, water, eye, nose, foot, hand, blood, dead.

"The existence of a class of words of this description will hardly be explained by any influence short of domination and conquest, or of great admixture, which implies, in the state of society, nearly the same thing.

"On the evidence of language, we may pronounce as to the state of civilisation of such a nation, that they had made some progress in agriculture; that they understood the use of iron; had artificers in this metal and in gold, perhaps made trinkets of the latter; were clothed with a fabric made of the fibrous bark of plants, which they wove in the loom; were ignorant of the manufacture of cotton cloth, which was acquired in after-times from the continent of India; had tamed the cow and buffalo, and applied them to draught and carriage, and the hog, the domestic fowl, and the duck, and used them for food. Such a nation, in all probability, was in a state of social advancement beyond the ancient Mexicans; for they not only understood the use of iron and the larger animals, which the Mexicans did not, but the wide spread of their language across many seas proves that they had made considerable progress in maritime skill, which the Mexicans had not. If they possessed the art of writing and a national calendar, the probability of which will be afterwards shewn, their superiority was still more decided." *

An obvious defect in Mr. Crawfurd's theory is, that it affords no explanation nor gives any account of the dispersion of the Polynesian race over the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Indeed the supposition that the people who spread one language over the Indian Archipelago were a nation of superior attainments in arts and civilisation seems to be refuted by the state in which we discover this race in the distant groupes of the Great Southern Ocean. That the tribes who colonised Tahiti and the Sandwich Isles and Easter Island, and who

* Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago, vol. ii. pp. 82–84, 85.

established their language in those islands, possessed previously to their migration a knowledge of the use of metals and of the agricultural and mechanical arts, and all the improvements in social life which Crawfurd ascribes to his comparatively civilised colonists or conquerors of the Sunda and other Indian islands, is extremely improbable. It can hardly be imagined that they would have fallen into the barbarous state in which we find the islanders of the Pacific at the present day. This consideration affords strong reason for believing that the higher refinement which has been discovered in the Indian islands was derived from another source, and that those portions both of the languages and of the population of different islands, which may be termed Polynesian from their connection and affinity with what exists in the remote Oceanic groupes, are the most ancient and original. We have reason to believe that in very remote times traffic was carried on between Continental India and the islands. The tin-mines of Malacca were early celebrated, and the production of the islands was probably conveyed to the ports of the Hindoos. It would otherwise be impossible to account for the existence of many Sanskrit names of metals and other objects which are well known to exist in the languages of the Archipelago. It is much more probable that the islanders were civilised through this channel than by a cultivated nation, of whose existence we find no trace, akin to the Oceanic Polynesians in language, but differing entirely from them as to their state of mental developement and civilisation.

If we examine the analogies and the diversities of these insular languages in the point of view in which M. Abel Rémusat has taught us to compare the idioms of different nations, we shall draw an opposite conclusion from that of Mr. Crawfurd. It might indeed be concluded from the phenomena alone that the original language of the several tribes was identical, and that the diversities were superadded, or were the effect of time and accident. The numerals, for in these the discrepancies are in point of fact only slight, the names of family relations, of parts of the body, of the great objects of external nature, of the universal elements, of

animals and esculent plants, are common to all these idioms. If to all these proofs we add the undoubted unity in grammatical structure and in the first principles of the formation of words which M. de Humboldt has most fully demonstrated to exist, there seems to be scarcely any room left for doubt as to the conclusion which we must adopt.

The celebrated philologer last mentioned, in his great work on the "Kawi-Sprache," has critically examined the grounds of Mr. Crawfurd's hypothesis. He observes that the whole foundation of his theory is merely the fact that a part of the constituent words of each dialect is common to the speech of the whole family of nations, while a certain proportion is peculiar to the idiom of each particular tribe. Now it is evident that the correctness of this distinction and the truth of the negative part of it depends on the accuracy of research and the means of investigation within reach of those who have instituted the inquiry. The fact that any particular word has yet been recognised in the idiom of only one tribe does not prove that it was originally wanting to the common, perhaps the original language of the race. Languages have often for one object many expressions, and some have many roots of cognate or similar import; and the preservation of particular words, or the propagation and spread of particular roots in one language while the derivatives of a different radical word have occupied the same place in a kindred dialect, is often merely accidental. The difference of synonymous words in two languages, says M. de Humboldt, can only be regarded as evidence of original distinctness, when it has been shown that there is something in the structure of such words in one idiom which is incompatible with the laws which govern the structure of words in other dialects. But this has never been pretended. Mr. Crawfurd observes, indeed, with good reason, that the extension of this common language over maritime regions of so vast an extent is, in regard to the circumstances under which it took place, a subject of great obscurity, but the difficulties of explanation are not greater on one hypothesis than on the other. In the insular regions of the Great Ocean there is nothing, as the same writer observes, that gives support or probability to the hypothesis adopted by Mr.

Crawfurd. Many islands appear to have been uninhabited when they were first colonised by Polynesian tribes; and when Negro hordes and Malayan people are found in the same island or groupe, which is often the case in the islands of the Indian Seas, no alliance or intercourse generally subsists between the two races. The former are for the most part found to have been driven into the interior, where they were secluded in mountainous and inaccessible places. It is an unquestionable fact that all these dialects belong to one original stem, the unity of which is not less demonstrable than that of the different members of the Indo-European family of languages. This is indeed fully established both by the resemblance of words and of roots, and by that of grammatical formation. It is very rarely that a word is found in one dialect that is peculiar to it and wanting in all others. Most roots can be traced through several dialects, and many are recognised *in all* either in words of the same or of analogous meaning; and when compounded words are wanting in one dialect, the roots from which they are derived or composed can often be discovered in another after a diligent research. M. de Humboldt has illustrated and established this general observation by many particular examples. For this I must refer my readers to his work, and I shall merely observe that many of these examples are selected from the most distant members of the whole family of languages, as from the idioms of Madagascar, from the Malayan, the Tagala, and the dialects of the Tonga Islands. Of each of these languages M. de Humboldt has instituted a careful examination, comprehending an analysis of it on critical principles, and of the laws of formation in accordance with which the common vocabulary is in each idiom changed and modified in such a manner as to give rise to the diversity and variation between the dialects. The most obvious explanation of such a phenomenon is, that a number of tribes of kindred origin peopled the different clusters of islands, and afterwards kept up for a long time a constant intercourse. Under these circumstances the Malayo-Polynesian language was formed and developed.*

* Kawi-Sprache, B. 2, S. 218 et seqq.

SECTION III.—*Of the Characteristics of the Malayo-Polynesian Languages.*

The Malayo-Polynesian languages consist of roots, which, after the separation of particles and the reduction to their most simple grammatical form, are frequently and, it may even be said, for the most part dissyllables. Even when the word is a monosyllable, it is, especially in the Tagala, the most perfectly developed of these languages, generally doubled, and thus assumes the character of a dissyllabic root.

M. de Humboldt was the first who attempted to penetrate into the original construction of these roots, and he fully convinced himself that both of the syllables comprised in one word can be found in many instances existing as monosyllabic roots in these same languages, and that the fact of their juxtaposition and combination may easily be explained. M. de Humboldt has proved this by many examples in the various dialects belonging to both branches of the Malayo-Polynesian stock, and he concludes that the original form of these languages was monosyllabic. The second syllables are as truly distinct words as the first, and they do not stand to the former in the relation of suffixes or inflecting particles. It must be admitted that M. de Humboldt has generalised much on these facts, but they are facts which require explanation, and it does not appear that any other can be found. The very tendency to reduplication of simple monosyllabic roots is in itself a proof of very great proneness to the dissyllabic form.*

The most striking grammatical peculiarities of all these languages are the following.

Nouns are indeclinable words, and have neither genders nor cases: verbs have no personal inflexions: these languages have neither inflexion, which is a principal character of the

* Humboldt on the "Kawi-Sprache." Einleitung 406, and B. 2. 285. He says in the last place: "Die grösste Zahl der Malayischen einfachen und nicht zusammengezogenen Gründwörter ist zweisylbig, und besteht daher aus der sich selbst wiederholenden, oder sich mit einer verschiedenen Endsylbe verbindenden Wurzel."

Indo-European and Syro-Arabian languages, nor have they that sort of combination of particles with nouns and verbs, or absorption of other words into verbs, which is regarded as characteristic of the American languages, and is termed by Humboldt "agglutination." All the relations of words to each other are indicated in sentences by numerous separate syllables or particles, which never coalesce with the words representing ideas. In this respect the Malayo-Polynesian languages approach the Chinese. But the Malayo-Polynesian idioms have a capability of expressing by prefixed, suffixed, and infixed particles, shades of meaning partly grammatical, partly beyond the sphere of grammatical relations. They sacrifice also much to euphony, and prefix certain letters, and remove the accent, and thus present a singular appearance of most involved grammatical forms, with very scanty declension and conjugation. The pronouns in these idioms are never connected with the verbs except in the loosest manner, and they are not replaced by personal signs. In this instance there is a striking contrast between the Malayo-Polynesian languages and the American, in which not only verbs but nouns form the closest connection with pronouns.

The general characters of the Malayo-Polynesian languages are comprised by M. de Humboldt under the following heads.

1. The alphabet, or rather the number of elements usually represented by letters, is, in the languages of this family, very limited. 'The series of lingual consonants and that of aspirate letters are wholly wanting, if we may judge from existing characters, and from the languages reduced to writing. If some dialects have a simple aspirate, they all want the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated consonants. On the other hand, these idioms have a preference for nasal sounds, chiefly at the terminations, but also at the beginnings of words.

2. The syllables, with a few exceptions, consist merely of a simple consonant and a vowel. Two consonants seldom occur together, and then only as a result of combination of words under peculiar circumstances.

3. Monosyllabic words are the least frequent, if we con-

sider the reduplicated roots, to the formation of which some dialects are particularly prone, as real words. And such they truly are. Roots of more than two syllables are still more rare if we avoid mistaking for such roots words lengthened by affixes or by composition. The majority of simple Malayan words are dissyllables, and consist either of a reduplicated root or of a root originally monosyllabic with a final syllable added. The nature of these added syllables has already been explained.

4. In sentences the words remain unchanged, being never altered either by inflexion or coalition. Differences in gender and varieties in the verbs, such as are usually represented in other languages by causal, frequentative, and other forms, or again, by the active and passive voices, and alterations in sense which elsewhere are managed by the use of prepositions in composition, are here all represented by affixes, before, or at the end, or inserted into the middle of words. The junction of these particles causes changes in the accent and pronunciation of primitive roots, indicating an effort to maintain the unity of words.

5. The relations of time, expressed by us in conjugations of verbs, are in these languages expressed also in connection with nouns.

6. No pronominal endings are used to denote the persons of verbs. Hence verbs can never, with them, form, as they do in other languages, the turning point or spring of meaning in a sentence. Nay, it is often dubious whether a word is a verb or a noun. This is the greatest deficiency in these languages, and that wherein they are most directly contrasted with the Sanskrit. And hence perhaps it is, that though some of the dialects of this speech have incorporated many Sanskrit words, they have never incorporated the verbs of that language.

Paragraph 2.—On the Polynesian or Eastern Branch.

In the opinion of M. de Humboldt, the Eastern Polynesian, comprising the dialects of the insular nations furthest re-

moved from the Continent of Asia, particularly the Tahitian, or the idiom of Tahiti and the Society Isles, the Hawaiian or that of the Sandwich Islands, and the Maorian or the speech of New Zealand, all three of which are so nearly allied that they may be considered as probably dialects of one language, may be regarded as the most ancient or archaic form of the Malayo-Polynesian tongue. He adduces several facts which tend to confirm this opinion, which circumstances obviously render very probable.* The simple and primitive form of the Polynesian grammar is one indication of its greater antiquity. It has besides the greatest number of monosyllabic words, such words being in reality very scanty in the Malayan.† A wild tribe in the Malayan country bears the name of *Orang Benūa*. These people are supposed to be the tribe from which all the Malayan nations are descended. The word *Benūa* in the modern Malay bears no sense that can afford a significant interpretation of this epithet. But in the Polynesian *wenua*—N. Z., *fenua*—Tah., *fonnua*—Tong. means *desert land, wilderness.* Another tribe of similar native people is termed *Orang udái.* These, according to Sir T. S. Raffles, are the same as the Semang or woolly-haired Negroes of the Malayan Peninsula. This name seems to be derived from a Polynesian word *uta,* land. *Orang uta* means thus "People of the land;" a name likely to be given by colonists from abroad who came to settle on the coast of the peninsula.‡

The principal idioms of the Polynesian branch compared by Humboldt are, as we have said, the Tongan, which is somewhat nearer to the Malayan, and the three proximate languages of New Zealand, Tahiti, and Hawaï. From the comparison of the grammatical forms of these languages he draws the following conclusions.

1. Every word in a sentence stands by itself as a significant expression, as an integer subject to no modification.

2. This remark is to be extended to words which are in-

* Kawi-Sprache, ii., p. 293.

† Marsden's Malay Grammar, p. 122–123.

‡ Kawi-Sprache, B. ii., 293.

serted for the purpose of indicating what we term grammatical relations.

3. None of these words undergo variations in form or composition.

4. Neither do these words coalesce or amalgamate themselves with those words of which they point out the relations.

The preceding characters are all common to the Eastern Polynesian languages with the Chinese. The words of this language might be denoted by Chinese characters. It has been observed that there are more numerous monosyllables in the Polynesian than in the Malayan. The principal differences of structure between the Polynesian and the Chinese consist in the mode of using particles or the words of relation which supply the place of inflection. In the use of these particles Humboldt observes that the Polynesian languages bear a striking analogy to several American languages, but that these languages differ from the Polynesian in the amalgamations and coalitions which such particles undergo with the leading words, amounting to a real agglutination, as he terms it, or a production of aggregate or compound words.

On the whole, it seems that few classes of human idioms bear so much analogy in the leading peculiarities of structure as do the Chinese and the Polynesian, and none are more strongly contrasted than the Polynesian and the Sanskrit and its correlatives.*

The French Journal Asiatique contains, in the number for June, 1844, some remarks on the Polynesian languages by M. Dulaurier, who is known to have devoted much study, and with remarkable success, to the acquisition of a profound knowledge of these idioms. In his general description of their essential character he coincides with M. de Humboldt, but as he expresses himself somewhat differently, and is to be regarded as an independent authority, I shall, in concluding this topic, cite his remarks.

" Les mots de cette langue sont très simples; les syllabes

* Though the Polynesian and the Sanskrit are so strongly contrasted in structure, some writers, as we shall have occasion in a future section to observe, regard them as very nearly allied in elementary roots and vocabulary.

se composent, ou d'une seule voyelle, ou d'une consonne suivie d'une voyelle; jamais un mot n'est terminé par une consonne. Tous les mots sont invariables, et le même mot sert de nom, d'adjectif, de verbe, et de particule. Les différents rapports des parties de discours que nous exprimons par la déclinaison, la conjugaison, et les prépositions, se rendent pas des mots qu'on pourrait, dans ce cas, appeler *particules*, bien qu'ils soient de véritables mots qui, dans tous les autres cas, sont substantifs, adjectifs, et verbes. C'est à l'aide de ces *mots-particules* qu'on exprime les différents rapports des parties de discours, avec une précision et une vivacité dont les langues plus cultivées ne sont pas capables, parceque leurs terminaisons et leurs particules ne sont, d'ordinaire, que de signes n'ayant d'autre valeur que celle d'indiquer les rapports des mots. La manière d'exprimer les rapports grammaticaux par des mots-particules se trouve dans tous les rameaux des idiomes océaniens, et, sur cette considération seule, l'illustre G. de Humboldt se décida à déclarer l'identité de tous, pendant que, par la comparaison lexique, il a cru pouvoir les ranger en cinq branches, savoir: le Malay et le Javanais, la langue de Célebès, celle de Madagascar, celle des Philippines, et enfin celle d'Océanie orientale. Ces mots-particules sont très multipliés dans les phrases océaniennes, et vû l'impossibilité ou il serait de pouvoir les rendre tous d'une manière exacte dans une autre langue, un grammairien superficiel en déclarerait, assurément, une grande partie oisifs ou tout au moins explétifs, comme on l'a fait pour les particules si répètées des poésies Homériques.

" L'absence de toute flexion et des particules proprement dites prouve évidemment que la langue océanienne est dans un état de pure nature, et que, par conséquent, la signification de chaque mot a été conservée et est en pleine vigueur. C'est donc une langue vraiment vivante, puisqu'elle subsiste de toutes ses parties. Nos langues cultivées ne sont vis-à-vis d'elle que de vieux arbres à branches dessêchées: leurs terminaisons et leurs particules sont mortes, puisque nous ne connaissons plus leur signification."

The principal foundation of M. de Humboldt's inferences and

general conclusions is a careful examination of the structure and derivation of one hundred and thirty-one primitive words, or roots, common to all the nine chief languages belonging to both branches of the Malayo-Polynesian stock. These are, in the western branch, the Malecassian, or the language of the inhabitants of Madagascar, the Malayan, the Javanese, the Búgis spoken in Celebes, and the Tagala, which is the principal idiom of the Philippine Islands: in the eastern or Polynesian branch, properly so termed, the languages of New Zealand, the Tonga Isles, Tahiti and the Society Isles, and lastly the Hawaiian, as it is now termed, or the speech of Owhyhee and the Sandwich Islands. The author assures us that these one hundred and thirty-one words have not been selected on account of greater resemblance than what is observable in the general vocabulary of the several languages, since such a mode of proceeding might give an unfair result, and an appearance of nearer affinity than really exists. Moreover, the collection comprehends words belonging to the following different classes of ideas, viz. 1, elements of nature and material objects; 2, spiritual beings; 3, heavenly bodies and phenomena, as sun, moon, winds; 4, earth, and things on earth; 5, parts of time; 6, of space; 7, man and human things, family relations, &c.; 8, parts of the body; 9, animals; 10, plants; 11, implements; 12, adjectives; 13, verbs; 14, conjunctions. Besides these, the numerals in these languages have been analytically compared, and much pains have been bestowed on the comparison of grammatical forms.*

The conclusions deduced from this laborious analysis are that there not only exists a fundamental and close affinity between the several languages compared, in regard to their vocabulary or material of words, but also that the construction is in so far alike, that they must all be considered as belonging to one and the same grammatical system, and that the varieties displayed in these respects come within the limits of this system, and are in accordance with the same general grammatical principles.†

* M. de Humboldt, Kawi-Sprache, i. 236. † Ibid, 283.

SECTION IV.—*Of the Origin of Sanskrit Words existing in the Malayo-Polynesian Dialects, and of the supposed Relationship of the Malayo-Polynesian and Indo-European Families of Languages.*

It has been known since the time of Sir William Jones that the Malayan language contains many words derived from the Sanskrit. Later investigation has shewn that the number of these words is very much greater than it was thought probable that it would be found to be, and that they constitute a more integral part of the Malayan tongue. The nature and origin of the relation which appears to subsist between the dialects allied to this language, and the ancient learned idiom of the Indian continent, has become a subject of much discussion; and it is obviously one of great importance in its bearing on the history of the Malayo-Polynesian race. It was conjectured by Mr. Marsden that the admixture of Sanskrit words in the Malayan speech may merely have been the result of commercial intercourse between the people of India and the Malays, and the trading coast of Guzerat was pointed out as the quarter whence it was most likely to have originated. The resort of the people of Guzerat to Malacca is noticed particularly by De Barros and other authentic writers. Mr. Marsden adds that the Hindú language is well known to have been preserved with greater purity in Guzerat than in any other maritime province of India. Dr. Leyden rejected Mr. Marsden's hypothesis, and maintained the opinion that it was from Telingana, or the ancient kingdom of Kalinga, on the eastern coast of the Dekhan, that the Malayan language derived in part the Sanskrit words which it contains, and the people who speak it a portion of their literature. He was nearer to the truth in attributing a greater influence to the Javanese colonisation of Malacca, and to intercourse between the Javanese and the natives of the Malayan peninsula. One observation of this writer in connection with the same inquiry, if he had followed the clue, might have given him a much deeper

insight into the history of the Malayan language. He remarks that those portions of the Malayan which are derived from the sacred language of India are purely Sanskrit. If so, they cannot have been introduced through the medium of the modern dialects. In every instance, he observes, such words adopted into the Malayan approach even more nearly to the original Sanskrit than the old forms of the Pali. Many mythological stories are likewise extant in the Malayan, and in these mythological characters are introduced which, as far as Dr. Leyden was able to learn, do not occur in any Pali compositions. It was, therefore, not through the intervention of Pali that words of Sanskrit origin were introduced into the language of the Malays. On similar grounds it might have been argued that neither the Hindí of Guzerat, nor any dialect spoken in the Dekhan, could have been the medium.*

It has been observed by M. de Humboldt, who has surveyed this subject in that comprehensive manner which is characteristic of all his writings, that the numerous Sanskrit words existing in the Malayan language are of a two-fold description. The greater proportion of them, like *kāta, sabda, cheritera,* a legend, *nāma,* name, *ūtāra,* the north, *swāra,* voice, are found only in the Malayan proper and the Javan,† without having passed into the other languages of this stock. Such words must have been adopted apparently into the dialects in which they are found at a comparatively late period,—namely, subsequently to the dispersion of the insular nations from a common centre. Yet, as the same writer further remarks, this period must itself have been a very remote one, since the *Sanskrit words adopted in the Malayan language are pure and genuine, and free from those corruptions which the modern Indian dialects display.* The second class of Sanskrit words are common to other dialects, and often to many branches of the Malayan language. The wide diffusion

* Marsden's Grammar of the Malayan Language, preface. Dr. Leyden on the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations. Asiatic Researches, vol. 10.

† The Búgís ought probably to be added to the languages to which this observation is applied. See Humboldt, Kawi-Sprache, Th. 3, s. 314.

of such words through these insular idioms must be attributed to the influence of an older form of the Sanskrit, "einer Vor Sanskritische Sprache," * or of that ancient language which exercised a similar influence over the idioms of the Indian continent. What is the proportional number of words belonging to this class can only be ascertained by a careful analysis of all the dialects of the Malayo-Polynesian nations. The most important instances will be manifested in the examination of the numerals and pronouns of these dialects. Humboldt gives as specimens the words *aho*, Tonga, अहम् *aham*, Sanskrit, ego; *mēga*, Malay, *mica*, Malecassian, मेघ *mēgha*, Sanskrit, a cloud; and the Malecassian *malafa*, लभ् *labh*, Sanskrit, λαμβάνειν. The editor of Humboldt's work, M. Buschmann, observes on this passage of his author, that it was the intention of the latter to have devoted a particular chapter to a comprehensive view of the relations between the Sanskrit and the Malayo-Polynesian idioms. He did not live to complete this design; and Buschmann, with a view of supplying in some degree the deficiency, has given in a note a few words which had occurred to him, analogous to Sanskrit vocables, in the Tagala, Malecassian, and proper Polynesian languages.† Some of them will be seen in the following pages.

The researches of Humboldt into the languages and litera-

* M. Bopp has explained what M. de Humboldt probably meant by the expression Vor- Sanskritische Sprache, which is but inexactly translated an older Sanskrit language. He considers the language to which this designation may be applied as older than the Sanskrit of Indian poems. He observes that many of the forms which comparative grammar proves once to have existed in this older Sanskrit, appear to have been lost before the age of literary composition. These forms are only found extant in the oldest languages of the Indo-European groupe. Such is the form of the Greek τετυφα-τε, defective in the Sanskrit *tutopa*, and δίδωμαι, compared with the Sanskrit *dadai*. Bopp says that when he speaks of Sanskrit as the groundwork of the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages, which we shall see that he considers it to be, he means not the classical Sanskrit, but an older speech of which the Sanskrit is a later form, and of which the oldest Indo-European idioms may be regarded as coëval and sister languages.

† Humboldt, Kawi-Sprache. Dritt. Th. S. 228.

ture of Java have proved that the Indian colonisation of Java and the developement of the *Kawi*, the sacred and cultivated dialect of that island, have furnished the medium by which the languages of the Archipelago have derived the greater portion of that infusion of Sanskrit which they display. He observes that the Kawi forms *mami*, ego, and *kami*, nos, appear to be connected with the Sanskrit pronouns *mama* and *mê*; but adds that he was able to trace in the whole system of pronouns in the Malayo-Polynesian languages a deeply-rooted affinity, which must be regarded as much more ancient than the era at which words fully developed in their present forms can be imagined to have been transferred from the Sanskrit into the Malayan idioms. That the Sanskrit language, or a language of which classical Sanskrit is but a more embellished and a less primitive and simple form, should really have entered into the elementary composition of the idioms spoken by the remote islanders of the Pacific, is, if it should be fully established, a most remarkable and surprising fact. Humboldt seems to have suspected it, though he has expressed himself in a somewhat cautious and reserved manner on this subject; but Professor Bopp, whose fame as an investigator of languages is so universally celebrated, has not hesitated in declaring his full conviction that the whole groupe of Malayo-Polynesian languages are entirely produced and engendered from a disintegration of the Sanskrit. The Sanskrit bears, as he thinks, to the Malayan the relation of a mother-speech, while it is a sister-idiom when compared with several members of the groupe of European languages. As the Romanish dialects are formed from the ruins of the Latin language, its organisation having been broken up and destroyed, so in M. Bopp's opinion the Malayo-Polynesian has been built up from the fragments of the Sanskrit. There is, however, this important difference, that whereas the Romanish dialects have in most instances preserved at least traces, and in some cases considerable portions of the old Latin inflection, especially in the conjugation of verbs and the declension of pronouns, every vestige of grammatical structure has been lost in the languages of the Oceanic tribes. The obvious result of such a state of things, as Bopp observes,

must be that the most unquestionable proofs of derivation will be wanting in the comparison of the Malayan with the Sanskrit, since grammatical affinity is out of the question, and we can only look to the evidence afforded by resemblance of words. This throws open a wide field of conjectural etymology. The analysis of the Indo-European languages has been reduced to fixed laws, and the investigation may be regarded, within these limits, as a matter of scientific research; but it is difficult to establish a similar conviction on the evidence of insulated resemblances, such as those which the Polynesian languages are capable of affording. It is, indeed, hard to imagine so complete a dismemberment of structure as the supposed case requires. If we were to form a conjecture on the subject, it would be that the fragmentary state of language was the original one, and that organisation and construction were superadded in time. This would bring us to the notion that the state of speech which appears in the Malayan language is the primeval one, and that of the Indo-European idioms a secondary and improved form; but few persons would adopt this alternative in the instance now under review without much stronger evidence than we now possess. There are, however, striking features of likeness to the Sanskrit in two classes of words pervading nearly the whole system of Malayo-Polynesian languages,—namely, the pronouns and the numerals. Bopp has suggested that the evidence afforded by the former may be explained away on the supposition that certain organic causes may have given rise to analogy in such words as express personal relation and identity, such as ego, tu, is. This appears to me, I confess, extremely fanciful; and although it is true that personal pronouns are decidedly analogous in very many languages which betray little other resemblance,* I think it is much

* The following groupes of languages, though entirely *allophylian*, bear in pronouns or numerals or in both a manifest and indeed unquestionable analogy to the pronouns of the Indo-European and Sanskrit class:—1. The idioms of the Shemite nations: 2. The languages of North Eastern Asia, akin to the Turkish, Mongolian, and Tungusian: 3. The Coptic: 4. Several African languages.

more probable that the explanation of this fact is to be sought in the more permanent preservation of such elements of speech, and in the original derivation of these languages, now so greatly diversified, from a remote parent stock, rather than in any organic tendency. The numerals, however,—namely, the first ten, and particularly the first five,—afford, in the opinion of M. Bopp, the most unequivocal evidence of affinity. He does not think it probable that the lowest numerals can have been introduced among any people by foreigners.* On this he places his chief stress. I must lay before my readers some specimens of the sort of resemblance which he has endeavoured to trace, and shall commence with the numerals.

1. The Sanskrit word for one, *éka*, is preserved in the Greek ἑκάτερος, Sanskrit, *ekataras*, a comparative form, and in ἕκαστος. In Latin we trace the same etymon in *cóclęs*. In the Gothic, which affects, as it is well known, aspirates for palatines, we find *haihs*, one-eyed, from the themes *ha-iha*, with which the Latin *cæcus* may be compared; in *ha-ufs*, one-handed, and in other analogous words.

In the Malayo-Polynesian dialects we find a syllable derivable from *éka*, though not strictly used as a numeral: *ca* in the Tagala is an indefinite article, rendered *un* and *una* by Dom. de los Santos, as *ca-tava*, un hombre, a man, which may be rendered in Sanskrit by *éka-dhava*. Doubled, this particle means "only one," as *caca-potol*, rendered "un solo pezaro." Humboldt considers the prefix *ica*, which is set before ordinal numbers, as the same word; and Bopp has suggested that the *ka*, well known in the language of New Zealand, and in some of the most remote dialects, as a prefix to several numerals, *ka-tahí*, for one, *ka-rúa*, two, has a similar origin, as if we should say one monad, one decad, or one couple.

This numeral is expressed by different words in various Indo-European languages, in which the other numerals are

* This, if conceded fully, would oblige us to admit some Papua languages into the groupe of idioms, according to this view of the subject a very comprehensive one, which are supposed to have had an original affinity.

nearly identical, and various words for it occur in the Malayo-Polynesian dialects. Bopp observes that this is owing to its being interchanged with demonstrative pronouns. Thus it is in the Tagala and Malecassian *isa*, perhaps from the Sanskrit demonstrative *ésha*, or *aisa*.

2. The second numeral is in the Malayan and Maorian languages *dúa*, coinciding with the Indo-European cognate: *dúa* is modified in some dialects by an usual change of consonant to *lúa*, *rúa*, *lo-roo*.

3. The third numeral is in the Tahitian and in the remote language of Easter Island, where ancient forms are likely to have been preserved, tŏrŏu or torú. As these languages always separate two consonants by an intervening vowel, tŏrú is equivalent to trú, which is not remote from tri, the root of this word in many Indo-European languages, and tŏloú may be compared with the Chaldee tĕlí.*

4. Four is in Malay *ampat*, in Malecassian *effat*, or *effatra*, which probably stands for *fefatra*. Now *fefatra* or *effatra* is not remote from the Indo-European numeral, when we take into consideration that *f* is the initial consonant of the word that stands for four in several of these languages, as in fidwor, four. The ordinary and well-known permutation of consonants, which already is an established principle in the comparison of Indo-European languages, shews a very near approach of the Malecassian word for four, *effatra*, and the Sanskrit *chatwara*, and *fatra* is but the regular modification of quadra, τετρα, pedwar, fidwor.

5. In Tahitian *pae* may represent *pancha* or πέντε, it being the characteristic of this dialect to reject consonants from the middle of words.

The name for five means, in many languages, a hand, pointing to the physical origin of quinary and decimal arithmetic. In the Hawaiian dialect, *lima* means both a hand and the number five: it has both these meanings in the Búgis of Celebes: in the other dialects it retains the derived sense

* The analogy of the Sanskrit *tri* with the Tahitian *torú* was pointed out by Humboldt. Kawi Sprache, 3 Th. S. 262.

only, and is modified to *rima* or *dima*.* In the original sense of *hand*, it has a cognate in the Celtic *lamh*.†

The remainder of the numerals are more remote from the Indo-European. M. Bopp has subjected them to a most elaborate etymological dissection, in the course of which he has pointed out analogies with the Indo-European numerals, but they are perhaps remote, and require in aid too many conditions supported by slight evidence to afford any result that carries full conviction.

Baron v. Humboldt seems to have been strongly inclined to the opinion that there is an essential connection between the Indo-European and the Malayo-Polynesian languages in the system of pronouns belonging to each family. Bopp has devoted a particular memoir to the elucidation of this affinity, which he regards as indubitable. I shall lay before my readers some of the most striking of the facts which he has pointed out.

He observes that the Sanskrit, and all the languages most nearly allied to it, agree in forming the pronoun of the first person singular by means of two roots, one of which we find in the nominative, with a guttural for its consonant, (I, Ich); the other, beginning with *m*, forms the oblique cases. This prevails through nearly all the Arian languages of Europe and Asia. The Celtic, however, has *mi* for its nominative. In the Malayo-Polynesian, which have nothing like inflection or declension, we could not expect to find this precise fact, but it is observable that both the forms, analogues of *ich* or *ik*, and of *me*, occur in words denoting the pronoun of the first person, though in different numbers. The Sanskrit *aham*, ego, is represented by the Malecassian *ahau*, contracted in

* So observes Bopp. Humboldt says the word *lima*, *rima*, *nima*, *dima* retains the meaning of *hand* only in the South Sea, Polynesia, and in Bali, Borneo, and Celebes. Elsewhere, as in Malay, it is only the number *five*. The word used for *ten* means also, in the Hawaiian, *the hand*. Humb. K. S. 3 Th. S. 308.

† Dr. Lepsius derives the word expressing ten in all Indo-European languages from the Mæso-Gothic, *Tai-hun*, viz. *two hands*. *Taihan* is the next form; thence *dashan*, *δίκα*, *decem*, *dêg*, &c.

the New Zealand into *au*. The other dialects take *k* like the Gothic, *ik;* as Malay, *âkû;* Javan, *aku;* Tagala, *aco*. The Tonga, Tahitian, and Hawaiian dialects, like the English, drop the guttural element, and keep only the vowel form *au*, for *ahu* or *aku*. Many languages take *ku* as a suffix possessive.

Most of the Polynesian dialects have also the other form of the same pronoun, like the Sanskrit and its sister languages; this occurs in the dual and plural (we two, and we, ἡμεῖς) as follows:—dual, *má-ua*, N. Z., *ma-ua*, Tahiti, *ma-ua*, Haw.; plural, *ma-tu*, N. Z., *ma-tou*, Tah., *ma-kou*, Haw.

In expressing the second person, tu, Sanskrit *twa*, the Malayo-Polynesian sometimes retains the *t;* in other cases, like many languages of Europe and Asia, changes it for a *k*. In Kawi *ta* stands for *thou*. There is a peculiar pronoun expressing *thou and I together*. It is *ta-ua* in N. Z. and Tah. The Tagala has *icao*, and in short *ca* for *ta*, thou; and on this Bopp remarks the coincidence with the Semitic languages, which take *ka* for the suffix pronoun of the second person. The near relationship and easy mutual substitution of the guttural or palatine for the dental consonant is noted as a point of connection or resemblance in pronouns of the Indo-European and Semitic languages, in some of which it is more strongly marked than in the Malayo-Polynesian. The Hebræo-African dialects, the Ghŷz, Berber, &c. carry the substitution of the guttural for the dental further than the other Semitic languages, as they not only use *k* in the second person of the verb, but also in the first.* Bopp adverts for analogy to the Armenian, in which *t* and *k* are the pronominal signs of the second person of verbs, and as such are interchanged for each other: as *tu*, thou, *kho*, tuus, *khicz*, tibi. He might have pointed out analogies in the Finaish and Tartarian languages. The possessive, thine, is in Tahitian *to*, Haw. *ko*.

Third person. Several Indo-European languages want a

* See Mr. F. W. Newman's Essay on the Hebræo-African languages appended to the fourth volume of my Researches.

properly so termed personal pronoun of the third person corresponding to he, she, it, and use demonstratives instead of it; but the terminations of verbs in the third person singular shew plainly what the personal pronoun must have been. This form ends in *at*, *et*, *ti*, &c.; and we find that the pronoun is thus suffixed in general, and is also an article. The same phenomenon appears, according to M. Bopp, in many of the Malayo-Polynesian languages: *te*, *ho*, &c. are used both as articles and as suffix pronouns connected with verbs denoting the third person.

The Sanskrit relative *ya* has some analogies, according to Bopp, in the insular languages. *Yan* is the definite article, and is used for a relative pronoun in Malay. In Tagala we find *yaon*, ille, and in Bugis *yatu*; *îtu*, Malay; *ito*, Tagala, probably compounded of *ya* and *to*. With the Sanskrit demonstrative *esa* or *esha*, the Malecassian *isa* corresponds.

These instances of resemblance which I have cited in the pronouns and numerals of the Sanskrit and the Malayo-Polynesian languages are certainly remarkable. The resemblances in the ordinary vocabularies of the two classes of languages are not so frequent as might be inferred from what has been said. M. Bopp has, however, shewn that a considerable number of analogies may be found in the roots of verbs. The following instances of resemblance in nouns were selected by M. Buschmann, and were given in one of his notes to Humboldt's work on the Kawi-Sprache.*

Hína, Sansk. हीन

Hína, Jav. and Mal., small, mean. *Ino*, Haw.; *kino*, N. Z. bad.

Wári, वारि water.

Wârih, in the Kawi; *wai*, by omission of *r*, Tahiti, N. Z., Haw.; *wei*, Tong.; *uwae*, Búgis.

Chara, or *Chāra*, चर or चार and आचार *achāra*, rule, practice, rite.

Chāra, Mal.; *Tsara*, Malecass.; *Mitsāra*, Malecass.

* Kawi-Sprache, 3 Th., S. 228.

The several senses of the Sanskrit word are recognised in various derivations, in Malayan, Malecassian, and Javan.

Mukham मुखं face, προσωπον.

Muka, Mal. Kawi, same sense. *Mukha,* Tagala.

Kshaya क्षय destruction; *acsaya,* to destroy, Tagala.

Shírna शीर्ण to destroy, waste; *sirna,* Kawi; *sira,* Tagala.

One or two more words of this description have been given by Buschmann, who draws the conclusion that a few Sanskrit words can be recognised, and with a tolerable degree of certainty, in the languages of the Malayan nations. The most remarkable are those indicating affinity with the Oceanic Polynesians.

It seems, on the consideration of all that has been stated, very difficult to form a decided opinion on this subject. I cannot, and I think few of my readers will be inclined to go with Professor Bopp so far as his ultimate inference, that the Malayo-Polynesian language is merely a derivative of the Sanskrit, or a genuine descendant of that idiom. If I might venture to offer an opinion, it would be that the resemblance traced between the Sanskrit and the Malayo-Polynesian is by no means such as to indicate a family relation or *Stammverwandtschaft.* It is even very much more remote than the connection between the Indo-European and the Syro-Arabian languages. Yet the phenomena can hardly be attributed to accidental coincidence, and if not, the only alternative is to infer, or at least strongly to suspect, that they are the result of some very ancient and primeval derivation of the two families of nations from a common stock. The Tahitians and the Celts or Letts cannot have obtained anything that they may have had in common from intercourse, either with each other or with any intermediate term of communication. If they have any thing in common in the fundamental and essential parts of their respective languages, it must have been preserved by both from the very infancy of nations, perhaps almost from the first era of the developement of human speech.

The history of the Malayo-Polynesian languages cannot be complete till we know more of the dialects of other races spread through the same great region; viz. those of the Papuas and Haraforas. The Papua dialects display some relations to the Malayan, at least in the numerals, and in a few words already known; and these relations may be more extensive than it has yet been supposed. The idioms of the Haraforas are quite unknown, unless the Australians belong to them. Haraforan tribes inhabit the northern isles of the Archipelago, and if the population of these countries was originally derived from Asia, this was perhaps the path of colonisation. The investigation of their history may hereafter throw light on that of the Malayo-Polynesian race.

CHAPTER III.

RESEARCHES INTO THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE MALAYO-POLYNESIAN RACE.

SECTION I.—*Of the Malayan or more recent Period in the History of this Race.*

THE history of those tribes of the Malayo-Polynesian family who inhabit the islands of the Indian Archipelago and the peninsula of Malacca divides itself into three periods. The latest of these may be termed the Mohammedan era, its commencement being nearly coëval with the introduction of Islàm among the nations of the Archipelago; the middle period is that during which Indian culture prevailed in the Eastern Seas, diffusing a strong tincture of the religion and language of India; the earliest period is that which preceded the introduction of Indian civilisation. We shall obtain a better idea of these three chronological periods by connecting them with a local or geographical division. The Mohammedan period is that of Malayan commerce and navigation, a time during which the manners and the language of the comparatively modern Malays was spread by means of traffic, and by the settlement of trading colonies principally on the sea-coasts of the many islands in the Archipelago and of some of the neighbouring continents. This is the Malayan age. The period of Indian culture associates itself with Java, and is the Javan age: it was in the Island of Java that those colonies of Brahmans and other Indians were founded, by whose influence the language and the literature of the Hindoos were diffused. The earlier period, that of the indigenous cultivation of language among the different branches of the Malayo-

Polynesian race, associates itself with the more remote islands, and especially with the groupe of the Philippines, where the Tagala idiom is spoken by a great part of the inhabitants; for in this dialect, as M. de Humboldt has proved, the most complete developement and cultivation of the genuine and unmixed language of this whole family of nations is to be found. I shall term this, accordingly, the period of indigenous culture.

I shall now take a brief survey of the history of these three periods in the order in which I have mentioned them, going back from recent to earlier times.

Tanah Malaya, or the Land of the Malays, is a part of the peninsula of Malacca inhabited by people who speak the Malayan language properly so termed. It is supposed by well-informed writers not to be the original country of the Malayan nation, who are said to have arrived in the peninsula as a foreign colony from Menangkabao, an ancient kingdom in Sumatra still inhabited by people who speak the same language as the Malays of the continent, and resemble them in other respects. The learned author of the history of Sumatra informs us that the Malays of the peninsula are, in comparison with the inhabitants of Menangkabao, but as a people of yesterday, and that, though they have spread their language and manners far and wide since the foundation of Malacca in the thirteenth century, they are considered as intruders among the aboriginal people of the Eastern Islands. He is here speaking of the maritime settlements and trading stations of the Malays on the coasts of the Archipelago, where Mohammedan colonists of Malayan race have taken up their abode in comparatively recent times, and not of the population of islands by races, settled in them from immemorial times, who are proved by philological investigation to speak cognate dialects of the great Malayo-Polynesian language. According to the historian John de Barros, the city of Malacca was founded A. D. 1260, about 250 years before the arrival of the Portuguese in that part of the east. The founder was a Javan named Paramisera. The people began to adopt Mohammedanism soon after this period, and within a century and a half they had become zealous propagators of Islàm. A

somewhat different account of the foundation of Malacca has been given by Mr. Marsden from the Dutch writers Van der Worm and Valentyn,* who represent the colonists to have been a swarm thrown off from the abounding population of Menangkabao in the neighbouring island of Sumatra. Having chosen for their leader a prince named Sri Tari Bawana, who boasted his descent from Iskander the Great, these emigrants arrived about 1160 A. D. in the south-eastern extremity of the opposite peninsula, termed Ujung-Tanah, where they were at first distinguished by the name of Orang de-bawah Angin, or the Leeward People. Here they built the first city, which they called Singhapura. Four kings here reigned over the Malays, the last of whom, Sri Iskander Shah, was expelled from Singhapura by the Javan king of Majopahit, in Sumatra, who in 1252 was driven from his capital, and returning northward built the town of Malaka, so named from a fruit-bearing tree. Up to the time of Sultan Mohammed Shah, who succeeded Iskander in 1276, the Malayan princes were of the Hindú religion, which prevailed in Java before the introduction of Islàm. The whole of this story, as well as the names of the reputed Pagan kings, savours strongly of Mohammedan fable, notwithstanding which the general outline of events is supposed by Mr. Crawfurd to be authentic. He thinks it certain that from the colonies on the peninsula, and not from the parent stock of the Malayan people in Sumatra, the settlements of this enterprising nation, who have been called the Phœnicians of the east, were spread through the different parts of the Archipelago, where Malayan rajahs reigned over maritime districts and seaport towns, before the arrival of the Portuguese, from Sumatra to the Moluccas, and from the Philippines to New Guinea. From Singhapura, Malaka, and Johor the islands of Bintan and Lingga were colonised, as well as Kampan and Aru on the Sumatran coast, and all the Malayan states on the peninsula and in the Island of Borneo.

* Valentyn collected his accounts from three historical works in the Malayan language, which he highly extols. He terms one of them "a most beautifully written work." Mr. Crawfurd says he has seen this same book, and that "to his taste it is a most absurd and puerile production." See Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago, vol. ii. p. 378.

So much for the history of the Malayan states on the peninsula. Admitting the historical account that the present cities were founded by colonists from a more powerful and civilised people in the Island of Sumatra, we must not omit to note the fact that there is a race of wild people in the inland parts of the peninsula, supposed by some to be the primitive stock from which the whole race originated. These are the Orang Benua, a term which in their language means "the people of the land," or the Indigenous. They resemble the Malays in physical characters, and, as it appears, in their language.* Their name, indeed, is not significant in the modern Malayan, but it has its appropriate meaning, as we have already remarked, in some of the Polynesian dialects, which are supposed by Humboldt to preserve older forms of the common language.

The peninsula of Malacca was probably a place of resort in much earlier times on account of the tin-mines which it contains. This peninsula is, in the opinion of Dr. Leyden, the Temala of Ptolemy, and the name was probably derived from Tema or Teman, which is the Malayan term for tin. "We may be permitted," says Dr. Leyden, "to infer the antiquity of the Malayan language from its having given a name to the Cassiterides of the east."† It was from the east that the Greeks probably first obtained tin, for its Greek name κασσιτερον bears a strong resemblance to the Indian name of this metal, and may probably have been derived from the Sanskrit "kast'hiram."‡ This would carry back the resort of Indian people to the Malayan countries to a very remote era, namely, to a time antecedent to the Trojan war.

"The Malayan language," according to Dr. Leyden, "is spoken in its greatest purity in the states of Kiddeh or Tanna Say, Perak, Salangor, Killung, Johor, Tringgano, Pahang, and as far as Patani, where it meets the Siamese. Among

* There is a short vocabulary of the language of the Orang Benua in Sir T. S. Raffles's History of Java.

† Leyden on the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations. Asiatic Researches, vol. x.

‡ Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien.

the Western Malays in general it is spoken with greater purity than among the eastern islanders; but on the coast of Sumatra at Pulo-Pavicha it is intermixed with Batta and other original languages. The Menangkabao race, whose chief, termed the Maharájá, long governed the whole island of Sumatra, speak a dialect of Malayan considerably different from that of the peninsula. In the Malay states on the islands of Java, Borneo, and Celebes, dialects of the proper Malay are spoken, which are intermixed with the Jawa and Búgis, or the languages of Java and Celebes, while those on the Moluccas and other eastern islands have adopted a multitude of foreign words." In these remarks Dr. Leyden refers to the trading settlements of Mohammedan Malays, and not to the older tribes akin to the Malayan race, who form the earlier population of many islands in the Archipelago.

SECTION II.—*Of the Javan Period, or of the Age of Indian Culture among the Nations of the Archipelago.*

The history of the Island of Java is synonymous with that of Indian culture, or of the introduction of the arts, literature, and civilisation of the Hindoos among the nations of the Indo-Chinese seas. The history of Java has acquired a new interest, and the culture of its language has assumed a more important place in philology and the annals of literature through the connection of its people with the natives of India, and the modification which its ancient idiom is found to have undergone from the influence of Indian colonists and the classical language of Hindustan.

During the ages which preceded the extension of Malayan traffic and colonisation, the Island of Java appears to have been the centre of a widely-diffused commerce in the Indian Ocean. In these times the whole Island of Java is said to have been subject to one sovereign, who ruled over a refined and cultivated people. The Javanese nation was also brave and enterprising, and before the introduction of Islàm, which happened about 1400 A. C., they were lords of the Eastern Seas, and extended their conquests to Sumatra and Borneo,

and as far as the Moluccas. Their voyages, says Dr. Leyden, rivalled in the spirit of adventure the expedition of the Argonauts. They became known to Europeans only in the decline of their power, which was still formidable to the Portuguese colony in Malacca, when one of the dependent princes of Java fitted out a fleet of thirty large vessels of war. During many ages preceding the introduction of Islàm, the religion of the Hindoos prevailed in Java under the auspices of a foreign hierarchy, and the people had an alphabet of their own and cultivated a peculiar literature,* which, however, was entirely founded on that of the Hindoos. The remains of magnificent temples to the Hindú gods attest the power and refinement of the Javanese hierarchy, and ancient inscriptions bear evidence which supports to a certain extent the antiquity of their civilisation. The chronological era of the Javan nation nearly synchronises with the Indian era of Salivahana, which corresponds with the seventy-eighth year of Christianity. Lastly, the Javan language displays unequivocally the influence of an early culture on the Hindú model, and it has adopted a great number of Sanskrit words. We find, as in other regions anciently civilised, three methods of inquiry open for research into the history of the ancient Javans: I mean the examination of their written archives, if such they may be termed, or rather of their historical and mythological poems and of all that remains of their literature; secondly, the remains of ancient architecture and of inscriptions found in temples and on other monuments; and thirdly, which is most important, an analysis of the languages of the older and later inhabitants of Java, including their sacerdotal and learned dialect, the celebrated Kawi. I shall begin by a brief survey of this last part of the subject.

Paragraph 1.—Of the Languages of Java, and especially the Kawi.

The influence of Indian culture on the language of Java is principally observable in the bhasa krama or bhasa dhalĕm,

* Asiatic Researches, vol. x. p. 199.

the high or court idiom of the island, and more especially in the Kawi or ancient poetical dialect, in which the earliest remains of literature are preserved.* The nature and the relations of this poetical and literary language are the professed object of M. de Humboldt's celebrated work.† The results of his research, as far as the history of the Kawi itself is concerned, are nearly as follows:—

Humboldt rejects the opinion of Mr. Crawfurd, from which the learned A. W. Schlegel had already expressed his dissent. By Mr. Crawfurd the Kawi was regarded as a sort of corrupt Sanskrit, a merely sacerdotal dialect, never a popular or national idiom, and at most only spoken by the priesthood. Humboldt observes that at the period when the arts and religion of India flourished in Java, the sovereigns and the dominant caste in that island were more or less of Hindú descent: hence the imitation of Indian arts and the Indian language became the prevalent habit of the Javanese people, and was connected in their minds with all improvement and elevation of character and fortune. In this most flourishing period of Indian arts and culture in Java the Kawi language had its origin. The poetical and mythological compositions of the Hindoos were imitated by the more cultivated Javans in the idiom which they were accustomed to speak. Thus the Kawi was originally the language of the Javanese nation, or rather of the highest caste in this nation already assimilated to and intermixed with the Hindoos; but in forming this language to the purpose of poetry and literature, it was found convenient to introduce a larger infusion of Sanskrit than previously existed even in the idiom of the court. Thus two refined dialects came into existence,—the poetical idiom or Kawi, and the courtly language of conversation, both abounding in foreign expressions, yet both retaining precisely the grammatical structure and the forms of inflexion peculiar to the proper Javanese language. The court language as being that of conversation became gradually altered in the

* Leyden, vol. x., Asiatic Researches.

† The subject had been previously touched upon by A. W. Schlegel. See his Indische Bibliothek.

lapse of time, while the Kawi retained all the obsolete constructions and expressions which a language of poetry, and even one of laws and legislation, ever affects to retain and even to revive. During the times when the Indian influence in Java was at its zenith, the Kawi was perhaps intelligible to the people, nearly as the Doric chorus was understood more or less by the Athenians; but when this influence began to decline, which happened long before the age when the latest Brahmans retired from Majopahit to their last refuge in the island of Bali, everything connected with the Hindoos became gradually foreign in Java, and the old compositions in the Kawi, which contained not only much that was of continental origin, but likewise abundant archaisms and obsolete expressions of genuine Javanese origin, were at length no longer understood, and their place was supplied by versions into the popular Javan dialect.

In this adoption of foreign expressions into the language of Java, the old grammatical forms being preserved, the Kawi may be compared with the modern English arising into existence under almost similar circumstances, and engrafting on a basis of native Saxon and on a grammatical type peculiar to it, a great number of French or Norman words.

The results of this external influence are not confined to the language of Java; it has manifestly left vestiges of different kinds. For the most part Java may be looked upon as the intermediate point of intercourse and communication from which the other parts of the Archipelago have been influenced, but this influence has been exerted on Java much longer and more extensively than on other countries. This is indicated by the alphabets of the Archipelago. The letters used by the Tagalas of the Philippines, by the Búgis of Celebes, and by various nations in Sumatra, were plainly not derived from Java but from older forms, which perhaps were the original foundation of the Javanese and even of the Kawi; but the alphabets of Java approach so much more nearly to the Devanagari as to prove a later and more extensive intercourse of that island with the continent.

Moreover, the religious and historical traditions of Java, its political institutions, the literature, and national amuse-

ments, display every where an Indian character.* That the beginning of this foreign culture of the Javanese mind seems not to be limited even to the epoch of Salivahana and the Javanese era is demonstrable, as Humboldt thinks, from one phenomenon, which has been admitted by all those who since the time of Marsden and Leyden have paid any attention to the languages of the insular nations. All the Indian words which can be detected in the languages of the Archipelago, and even the remote Polynesian dialects, were certainly derived, not from any popular language of India, but from the pure uncorrupted Sanskrit. None of the many corrupt modifications of the Sanskrit language existing on the continent of Asia, and therefore none of the languages which are spoken there in the present age, has exerted any considerable influence on the insular dialects. Whatever changes from their original grammatical form Sanskrit words are found to display in the idiom of Java, have arisen merely from the addition of Javanese affixes, or from changes in pronunciation arising from the same cause.

The great antiquity of Indian colonisation of Java is further supported by a survey of Javanese literature and mythology. The Puranas are unknown in Java. The Javanese code of laws, termed after that of Menu, Menuve Say, has been so named, as Raffles observed, in imitation, since it contains the proper domestic institutions of the island where it was plainly composed. The Indian Sastra does not appear even to have been translated into Javanese, yet, as M. de Humboldt remarks, it cannot be maintained that the contents of Menu's work were unknown in Java, since in the Javanese history of the creation of the world heaven and earth are formed by the bursting of a great ball, as in Menu's Sastra by that of an egg. In the Indian myth Brahma comes out of the egg; in the Javanese, the first man, Mane-kmaya. Also the parts of the bursting body are differently divided. The Indian egg separates into two parts, viz. heaven and earth, between which are the air, the parts of the world,

* This subject has been illustrated with great learning and ability by A. W. Schlegel in the first part of his Indische Bibliothek, 400–425.

and the perpetual place of waters. The Javanese ball separates into three parts, heaven and earth, sun and moon, and man, likewise concealed in the ball. The Javanese shaster was thus merely an imitation of the code of Menu and worked up in a very different style from the original. The higher conception of Menu that Brahma burst the egg by the energy of his active mind has not passed into the Javanese representation. Neither can any traces be found of the importation into Java of the later Indian literature, namely, that originating about the beginning of our era. It is, indeed, difficult to found with confidence a conclusion on the negative side of such a question; but as far as facts yet known supply evidence, we must place the original developement of Javanese literature through Indian influence in the interval between the era of the heroic poems and that of the later Sanskrit compositions. Whether we may thus be further carried back in the chronology of times antecedent to the Christian era it is, in Humboldt's opinion, impossible precisely to determine. We shall hereafter find that the Bhrata Yuddha set forth as the Javanese imitation of the Mahabharata differs much from the original, and shews tokens of a later composition. On this ground Crawfurd founded a conjecture that a translation of the great poem into one of the modern Indian dialects may have been the model of the Bhrata Yuddha. Humboldt, on the other hand, has proved that the Mahabharata in its pure form, or the popular legends which on the continent were founded on that poem, passed into Java. This appears from the fact that the tops of mountains in Java are commonly named after the heroes of the Mahabharata, and from the transference of the scene of action into the island; and the language of the Bhrata Yuddha itself, which, as far as it is Sanskrit, is pure Sanskrit without any mixture of a foreign local dialect, is a sufficient evidence that the connection of Java with India was more ancient than these later translations. The Bhrata Yuddha, indeed, in its present form belongs to a comparatively recent period. But when once the Kawi language had been developed in Java by the mixture of pure Sanskrit and by the infusion of Indian culture, poetical composition was carried

on in that idiom, and continued till the total abolition of Hindú influence in the island. Therefore the introduction of recent expressions into some parts of the Bhrata Yuddha is no argument against the early origin of the language, or its early use in the imitation of works of Indian literature.

It appears from the historical collections of Raffles that the communication between India and Java was of a peaceful nature, and not by military conquest. The Indian colonisation of Java, as M. de Humboldt observes, had rather the character of a settlement of priests and sages, of persons devoted to religion, literature, and arts, than of that of foreign subjugation. It is conjectured that foreign improvement may have been sought on the continent by the native princes of Java, as the modern Javans resort to Calcutta in order to have the advantage of English arts and modern improvements. Whether sovereigns of the Hindú race ever reigned in Java over Indian communities can hardly be determined. The contrary supposition is more easily reconcilable with all the facts which have come to light in relation to the history of Java and its language. The influence of the ancient Hindoos in Java was probably established in a manner similar to that of the introduction of Islàm in more recent times. Hindúism was apparently regarded as something desirable and to be imitated by the insular people, and to which the cultivated orders gradually assimilated as much as possible their language and manners, and social habits and institutions.

Paragraph 2.—Of the Historical Records of the Javans.

The Javans have historical records, or books to which they ascribe that character: these are partly written in the Kawi language, and in part translations from the Kawi into the popular Javan idiom. The extant books of both kinds have been enumerated by Sir T. Stamford Raffles, and his abstract of their contents has furnished the groundwork of a critical analysis by Baron William von Humboldt.

Mr. Crawfurd, who after Sir T S. Raffles first undertook

an examination of these books, formed a very low opinion of their value for the purposes of history. He says that the native history of Java is an absurd mixture of the wild fictions of Hindú mythology with the puerile legends of the Mohammedans. A dawning of historic truth is alone perceptible in the age when the Moslims first gained a footing in the island. This in his opinion was in the later part of the twelfth century. Islàm became the established religion, according to the same writer, not till the close of the fifteenth.

Sir T. Stamford Raffles had formed a somewhat more favourable opinion of the writers on Javanese history. He considered the accounts which they have handed down as deserving of credit as far back as the ninth century. This, in his opinion, was the era of a very general diffusion of Indian civilisation, literature, and religion over the island. But even during the ages reckoned historical, a great diversity exists in all the assigned dates, and no agreement can be made out in the lists of dynasties. It is, however, remarkable that no Javanese record or pretended record carries back the memory of events before the seventy-fourth or seventy-eighth year of the Christian era. It was in the seventy-fourth year after Christ that the Javanese era, the Aji Saka, is said to have been introduced from Java. The greatest contradictions exist as to the person of Aji Saka, and some represent him as a chieftain, others as the emissary or ambassador of an Indian prince; sometimes he is a saint, at others a god. M. de Humboldt doubts whether there ever was a man of that name, and participates in the opinion of Schlegel and Crawfurd that it was only the designation of an era or chronological period. The Javanese era is manifestly the same as the continental Indian era of Salivahana, since the difference of four years between them* may be accounted for by reference to the confusion between the Indian and the Arabian computations of time.†

According to the Javanese historians a Brahman named

* The era of Salivahana begins 78 A. D., and that of Aji Saka A. D. 74.

† Humboldt, Kawi-Sprache.

Tritresta first introduced into the island a Hindú colony consisting of about a hundred persons, men, women, and children. Tritresta is referred to the age above mentioned. From that time to the middle of the fourth century of our era the names of many other leaders of colonies are mentioned, but without particulars. A more circumstantial and credible relation is given of the settlement of Madang Kamolan, the oldest kingdom in Java that obtained any permanent duration. It was founded by a colony of five thousand men, who came to Java from Hastina in the 525th year of the national era, and became the capital of an extensive kingdom. Even this account is supposed by the learned A. W. Schlegel to be a recent interpolation,* and M. de Humboldt was inclined to adopt the same opinion. Under princes of this dynasty, who reigned from 846 to 1000, the arts and culture of India attained in Java, according to the native historians, the highest perfection. Such is the evidence of historical records, if that name is to be given to any of the annals of Java. The more authentic testimony afforded by the works of ancient art go back, as we shall perceive, only to the end of the twelfth century of Javanese chronology.

It was the opinion of M. de Humboldt that no data can be discovered in the written annals of Java which enable us to determine any thing with certainty as to the initial period of intercourse between Java and the continent of India, or that of the introduction into the island of Indian arts and mythology and literature. All the historical accounts which go back to an early period rest upon imperfect evidence, or are, rather, manifestly spurious and fictitious. On the other hand those which are authentic and of demonstrable evidence extend to so short a distance of time as to leave us under a conviction that the influence of the Hindoos must have been established over Java for some centuries before the period to which they refer.†

* Indische Bibliothek von A. W. von Schlegel, 1. 406.—Humboldt, Kawi Sprache, 1. 12.

† Humboldt, ubi supra, p. 15.

Paragraph 3.—Remains of Ancient Art in Java.

The remains of ancient art discovered in Java afford an authentic confirmation of the principal facts recorded in history, though they do not lead us to any precise notions on the chronology of the Javan states.

The remains of ancient palaces and royal tombs, but particularly of ancient temples, of numerous images of stone and brass, and of inscriptions on the same materials, all dedicated to religion, point out the seats of the native states, and tradition has preserved their names. The chief states which existed in the three centuries preceding the conversion to Islàm were Doho, Brambanan, Madang-Kamolan, Jangola, Singhasari, Pājajaran, and Majopahit. The last, which was the most famous Indo-Javanese state, was destroyed A. D. 1478, after a duration, as Mr. Crawfurd supposes, of a century and a half. Its sovereigns extended far the influence of their arms and arts. Palembang, founded by them in Sumatra, was colonised by Javanese. The ruins of Doho are remarkable; they are referred by Mr. Crawfurd to the year 1195 B. C.*

The religion of Java was a modified Buddhism, or perhaps the original form of that worship. Idols of the Hindú gods received adoration, particularly Siva, but without the appalling and indecent ceremonies, and the images of Buddha represent him, not as a deified person, but as a reforming saint. From these observations Mr. Crawfurd concludes that the Buddhism of the Javanese was the primitive form of that religion, which was set forth, not as the worship of a new divinity, but as a reformation of the Brahminical system of the Hindús,—a proof that the religions of Brahma and Buddha are essentially the same, the one being only a modification of the other.† If this be correct, the religions of the Burmahs, Siamese, and Singhalese must be considered as distortions and corruptions of genuine Buddhism.

* Crawfurd, History of the Indian Archipelago, vol. ii. p. 299.

† History of the Indian Archipelago, ii. p. 298.

The antiquities of Java consist of temples, of images, and of inscriptions.

The architectural remains are scattered over the best part of the island from Cheribon to the western extremity. They are abundant in the most fertile spots, at the mountain Praha, in Mataram, Pajang, and Malang. They are of four kinds: 1, large groupes of small temples, of hewn stone, each occupied by a statue; 2, high temples of great size, of hewn stone, occupying the summits of hills; 3, high temples of brick with an excavation; 4, rude temples of more recent construction.

The images and figures discovered in these temples have in many instances a genuine Hindú style and decoration. In many of them the worship of Siva and Durga is pourtrayed, and seems to have been celebrated; but Buddhism appears to have been the most prevalent sect. Mr. Crawfurd has drawn some inferences from these remains calculated, as he thinks, to throw light on the Javan history.

The ancient inscriptions found in Java are, according to Mr. Crawfurd,* of four kinds. 1. The first are Sanskrit inscriptions in the Deva-nagari character. 2. The second are inscriptions in the ancient Javanese or Kawi. 3. The third are inscriptions in the present Javanese, but in an antiquated and barbarous form. 4. The fourth are inscriptions which cannot be deciphered, and are probably composed in the character in which the Sunda language is written.

It does not appear that any of the remains of ancient art enable us to carry back the date of Javanese civilisation on Hindú models to a very remote period. There are none so ancient as the undoubted date of Indian colonisation.

We shall hereafter proceed to inquire into the primitive state of the Archipelago and its inhabitants; but we must first consider the facts which bear upon a very obscure subject,—namely, the history, as far as it is possible to collect anything that can bear that name, of the Malayo-Polynesian tribes, situated beyond the sphere of influence exercised by Java and the Kawi literature.

* Crawfurd's Hist. of the Indian Archipelago, vol. ii. p. 24.

SECTION III.—*Earlier History of the Malayo-Polynesian Nations.—State of these Nations before the Javan Period.*

The highest cultivation which the islanders of the Indian Archipelago attained before the introduction of Mohammedanism was, as we have seen, derived from the Indian continent, and was diffused among them through the medium of Javan commerce and navigation. A greater obscurity involves the history of times preceding the settlement of Hindoos in Java, and it is difficult to find data fitted to throw light on the state of the insular nations before that event. It is, however, probable, as Mr. Crawfurd has observed, that the tribes within the Indian Archipelago were much further advanced in civilisation than the scattered islanders of the same race in the distant regions of the Pacific. As the conquests of the Javans do not appear to have extended over the whole Indian sea, we may perhaps form an idea of the original state of this whole groupe of nations from the condition of the Philippine islanders and others who were without the sphere of Javan influence. Even in Sumatra and in parts of Java there are native tribes who appear to have retained their independence, and who underwent little modification of their primitive condition. All these nations have made the first and most important steps towards civilisation. They practise tillage, and support themselves by the produce of labour. They are acquainted with the use of metals, and appear to have invented various manufactures. They have likewise the art of writing, but whether this was indigenous among them or was known before the earliest intercourse with India, is still an undecided question. The Búgis, Battas, and Tagalas, and some other nations have alphabets of their own, in which they write upon bamboos and palm-leaves, some from top to bottom, and others, as it is said, from the bottom to the top of the line. The peculiar direction of their writing appears to result from the nature of the material on which they write. Some have thought that a system of written characters was common to the insular nations and the old Tamulian inhabi-

tants of the Dekhan, even before the conquests of the Hindoos in the peninsula; and the letters which the old voyager Iambulus found in use among the people of Taprobane or Ceylon have been supposed to be of the same class. This was conjectured from the direction of the lines and from the number of letters in the last-mentioned alphabet. But however these alphabets may have varied in form from each other and from the system of letters used in Hindustan, some of them betray a certain affinity to the Deva-nagari, pointing out their probable origin; and there is so much resemblance among them and relation to each other that it is not easy to arrive at a conviction of their separate and indigenous invention.

The languages of these nations, to which we must again refer, furnish data for the most important inquiry into their history. From these, by means of a careful analysis and comparison, light has been thrown on the affinities of particular tribes and on the earlier history of a great part of the race. The Philippine Islands, where the Brahmanised Javans never introduced their language or their religion, appear likely from their situation to be the quarter where the original idiom of the Archipelago may be found best preserved, and this anticipation has been verified by facts. The Tagala, which is the principal dialect of the Philippines, displays the most perfect exemplar of the languages of the Malayo-Polynesian race.

Paragraph 1.—Of the Tagala.

The most important member of this whole family of languages is the Tagala of the Philippines, and it is one of which English writers have in general taken very little notice.* The Tagala has an extensive agreement with the Malay. It

* Marsden in his Malay Grammar, p 21, admits its importance, but he has omitted even to give a specimen of it in his comparative table in the Archæologia, vol. vi.

is of all these idioms that which possesses the most perfect and elaborate developement of grammatical forms, a knowledge of which is requisite for a fundamental acquaintance with the other idioms of the people. It bears to these idioms a similar relation to that which the Sanskrit bears to the Greek and Latin. It retains its original character unchanged either by the later Arabian intercourse which has affected the Malayan idiom, or by the older Indian culture which has exercised its peculiar influence on the languages of Java and Sumatra.

The Tagala, says M. de Humboldt, may be looked upon as the perfect specimen of the Malayan family of languages. "It possesses all the forms collectively, of which some particular ones are found singly in other dialects; and it has preserved them all, with very trifling exceptions, unbroken and in entire analogy and symmetry."* "The grammatical system of these languages appears in the Tagala fully developed, and without the truncations and mutilations which time and various changes have elsewhere introduced."† He says further respecting the formation of verbs in the grammar of the Tagala, that it is the most complete and elaborate in the whole assemblage of Malayan idioms. "It was necessary, in order to show the highest perfection of which the 'organism' of this stock of languages is capable, to display the system of verbs in the Tagala." This M. de Humboldt has done from the resources supplied by learned grammarians among the Spanish missionaries.

The Tagala is the principal language of the Philippine islanders, among whom, however, many other dialects are spoken. The three most considerable of these are the Bisaya, the Pampanga, and the Iloco. All these, together with a variety of secondary dialects mentioned by Ezguerra in his Bisayan grammar, constitute a smaller and more closely allied groupe in the great Malayan family of languages.

* S. 315. † Ibid, S. 319.

Paragraph 2.—Of the Malecassian Language, or the Language of Madagascar.*

It has long been known that some relations exist in regard to language between the Malays and the people of Madagascar. Such analogies, as Mr. Crawfurd thought, must be held to have originated from the Malays. "With the easterly monsoon and the trade wind the improved and commercial races of the Archipelago might find their way to Madagascar without any insuperable difficulty; but we may pronounce it impossible that the savages of Madagascar, with hardly any vessel better than a canoe, without a monsoon at all, and in the direct teeth of the trade wind, should find their way to the Archipelago." He concludes from various arguments that the connection which subsisted between the Malecassians and the Malays originated in a state of society and manners very different from what now exists. In these observations the opinion of Mr. Crawfurd coincides with that of M. de Humboldt, but by no means in the position that the words derived by the Malecassian from the Malayan language are not a part of the fundamental and original speech of the natives of Madagascar, but merely expressions "such as imply advancement in civilisation, numerals," and terms which a savage people are apt to adopt from more civilised strangers who may happen to visit their coasts or found colonies among them.† The very reverse of this opinion is, according to M. Humboldt, demonstrably true. It is not true, says this writer, that a language already existing in this island adopted Malayan words and grammatical forms, but it is certain that a tribe of people akin to the Malays must have settled in Madagascar, and brought with them a lan-

* The resources for the elucidation of the Malecassian language in the possession of M. de Humboldt were, a dictionary published in 1658, and the Vocabulaire Malgache of M. Challan, a missionary to the Isle of France, published in 1773, works little known, but used by M. de Humboldt, who added to them two manuscript works, one by the naturalist Lesson, and the other by a deceased English missionary, Jeffreys. S. 324.

† Crawfurd, Hist. of the Indian Archipelago, vol. i. p. 29.

guage which entirely superseded and extinguished any pre-existing dialect that may have been spoken in the island. The Malecassian is in its essential principles and whole structure a dialect of the great Malayan family.* It approaches by much the most nearly to the Tagala, and contains in an entire state a great many grammatical and fundamental forms of the Tagala. Yet, in the opinion of Humboldt, it would have preserved more of the full and artificial developement of the Tagala had the Malecassian been derived immediately from the Philippine Islands. Perhaps it may have originated from Java; but if that was the fact, we must date its derivation in times antecedent to the introduction of Indian refinement in Java. It would otherwise have possessed more Sanskrit words. Yet some words of this language exist in the Malecassian, and even words expressive of common ideas, in no very altered shape, such as *mica*, a cloud, from *mēgha*, and *vihi*, seed, from the Sanskrit *vîja*. It is likely that other idioms may exist intermediate between the Malecassian and the dialects of the Philippines.

It seems from various authorities cited by Humboldt that one and the same language is spoken throughout the whole of Madagascar.

SECTION IV.—*General Idea of the History of the Malayo-Polynesian Nations and their Languages.*

1. In the first age of the history of the Malayo-Polynesian race, which, though chronologically undetermined, is recognised as the earliest in a succession of periods, the collective body of the people existed nearly in the same state as the Tahitians and New Zealanders of the present time. It was during this period that they were spread over all the islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. In some groupes of islands the people of this age appear to have been more numerous

* "Diese Sprache im eigentlichen Verstande und bis in ihr Innerstes hinein dem Malayischen Stamm angehört."—Humboldt, Kawi Sprache, 2, S. 326.

and powerful than their descendants of the present day. This has been conjectured at least in regard to the natives of those islands where, as we shall hereafter observe, colossal images have been found. The centre of whatever mental culture existed among these tribes, at least the quarter where their language was most elaborated, and where the mother-tongue of the whole race has been traced, if we may so consider the Tagala, displaying as it does the nearest relations to the remotely spread idioms both in east and west, was the groupe of the Philippine Islands, and particularly the northern part.

Before the termination of the first period tribes of this race who inhabited the islands of the Indian Archipelago attained some improvement in arts. They acquired knowledge of agriculture, of metals, of different manufactures, and perhaps also alphabetical writing. They were perhaps as far advanced in culture as the Battahs of Sumatra.

2. A second period in the history of the race begins with the early colonisation of Java. It is uncertain whether this event took place at the commencement of the Javanese era, but this is the most probable supposition. The Indoïzing Javanese formed dialects by amalgamating the pure Sanskrit of their colonists, perhaps conquerors, at any rate civilisers, with the old Polynesian, and formed the Bhasa Dhalem, and at length the poetical and literary language, the Kawi. They spread their conquests far and near in the Indian seas: the extent of their conquests or colonisation, or of the influence of their religion and literature, may be traced in the history of particular tribes, to which we shall have occasion to advert. Sumatra and Celebes and the continental Malayan peninsula were near to the centre of this influence.

3. The third period is the Mohammedan. The decline of Javanese influence was perhaps coëval with the extension of Islàm on the ruins of Hinduism. The pagan worship and the Indian form of society still exists in the Island of Bali, near Java, whither the Brahmans retired on their expulsion from Java by the converts to Mohammedanism.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE MALAYO-POLYNESIAN RACE CONTINUED. NATIONS OF THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

SECTION I.—*Of the Natives of the Philippine Islands.*

I NOW proceed to describe more particularly the several branches of the Malayo-Polynesian race, and in the present chapter I purpose to survey those nations of this great family who are spread through the Indian Archipelago, reaching eastward from Sumatra to the most remote of the Philippine Islands. These tribes appear to be more nearly related among themselves than to the Polynesian nations of the Great Pacific Ocean.

The survey of the Indian Ocean may properly be commenced with that of the Archipelago of the Philippines. These islands fill an important place in the history of the nations and languages belonging to the Malayo-Polynesian stock. It is there that the Tagala language was originally cultivated and is still spoken. The Tagala, as we have remarked, has been proved to be the most complete form of the common language of the race, which in the remote Philippines, at a distance from Java, the resort of Hindú colonists and other foreigners, was brought in the process of time by genuine and indigenous culture to the most perfect developement. The Tagala seems likewise to be a sort of middle term to which we may refer the varieties of the Malayan and Malecassian on one side, and those of the Polynesian languages on the other.

The Tagala is the principal language of the Philippines, but other dialects are likewise spoken in some parts of that

Archipelago. We must in this place survey collectively the whole groupe of these islands and their inhabitants, those especially who belong to the Malayo-Polynesian family.

The Archipelago of the Philippines is situated between the fifth and nineteenth degrees of north latitude. It reaches about 300 leagues from north to south, and 190 from east to west. It contains a great number of islands of various extent, of which Luzon and Magindano or Mindanao are the largest. In order to form a geographical idea of this groupe, we must consider the long island of Luzon, which stretches from north to south, as a continuation of the great chain of mountains which, further to the northward, and running in the same direction from north to south, forms the interior of the Island of Formosa. Stretching then southward to the southern extremity of Luzon, it separates into two chains running towards the south-east and south-west. The south-western chain traversing the Island of Palawan, one of the southern Philippines, enters the great Island of Borneo, which it is supposed to traverse. The south-eastern branch forms the Isle of Samar, runs along the eastern coast of Magindano, and thence by chains of small islets which mark its course through the mid-channel, passes off into the Moluccas and scatters itself in many branches, some of which form the Archipelago of the Moluccas, while others stretch as far as New Guinea and the Papua Islands.

The Philippine Islands abound in lofty mountains, on several of which are craters yet emitting smoke. The soil of these islands, watered by abundant rains, displays the vigour and magnificence of tropical vegetation, and produces the finest fruits. The orange, the citron, the mango, as well as the more useful growth of cotton, coffee, sugar, and above all rice, which is the principal food of the inhabitants, come in these islands to perfection. The forests contain many wild animals, as gazelles and deer, and the pasture lands support oxen, sheep, goats, swine, and buffaloes.

The whole Archipelago is divided into five principal groupes, Luzon, the Bisayan Islands, Paragoa, Mindanao, and the Archipelago of Sooloo.

1. Luzon, or rather the subdued part of that island, is divided into fifteen provinces. At the era of its discovery by the Spaniards it contained several races of people; those who inhabited the level and maritime countries resembled the Malays in features and complexion, though presenting some peculiar traits: they lived in half-civilised communities under rajahs or chiefs, recognised the authority of hereditary privileged castes, had codes of laws, the institution of marriage and various religious observances, and paid adoration to the manes or spirits of their forefathers. In this class of nations were the Tagalos, the Pampangos, the Zimbales, the Pangasinanians, the Ilocos, and the Cayaganians. These people represent in the Philippines the half-civilised Polynesian race still dominant in the groupes of the Great Ocean. The mountainous parts of Luzon concealed in impenetrable forests and vast deserts tribes of a very different race, who were looked upon as the aboriginal inhabitants of the island: they were called by the Tagalos Oetas or Aetas; the Spaniards named them corruptly Igorotes, or more frequently Negritos or Negros del Monte. They are woolly-haired savages, and the place for describing them will occur in the following chapter.

The eastern part of the isle of Luzon is independent of the Spaniards: it is inhabited entirely by free tribes.

2. The Bisayan Archipelago to the southward of Luzon comprehends the islands of Samar, Leyte, Zebu or Bohol, the Isla de Negros, Panay, Maitim, the groupe of the Calamianes, Mindoro, Masbate, Marinduque, Bavias, and others. Some of these islands will be mentioned in the sequel. This groupe was called by the Spaniards at first "Islas de los Pintados," "Islands of the Painted People." It seems that the inhabitants tattooed their bodies, like many tribes of the same race in the Pacific Ocean.

The Bisayan islands are inhabited by three races of people. 1. Civilised people who cultivate the land under the Spanish government; they are of Bisayan origin. The genuine Bisayas still inhabiting the interior of Zebu. 2. Malays, who make predatory incursions on the coasts. These Malays are

chiefly natives of Mindanao and Sooloo. 3. Negro races in the forests and mountains. The Bisayan language is a cognate of the Tagala, though a distinct dialect.

3. Paragoa or Palawan is very little known. It is a large island inhabited by independent hordes in the interior, the sea-coast being subject to the Malay sultan of Sooloo. It lies in the direct chain which runs from Luzon through the Bisayan islands of Mindoro and the Calamianes towards Borneo.

4. The great island of Magindano, or, as it is generally called, Mindanao, is mostly subject to the Malayan sultan, who resides at the great town of Selangan, and claims sovereignty over the islands of Mengis, a cluster of islands forming part of the Archipelago of the Moluccas. The western part of Magindano is independent of the sultan, and divided into the sixteen petty sultanies of the Illanos. The people speak the Bisayan language, and we may consider the Bisayan race as the proper inhabitants of the island of Mindanao. There are likewise savage tribes in the desert parts of the west who are supposed to belong to the race of Haraforas, and are said to have some analogy in dialect and physiognomy with the Idaan or Dayaks of Borneo, generally referred, as we shall remark, to that much spoken of but little known people.

5. The Archipelago of Sooloo is formed by a great number of islands subject to the Malayan sultan. The sultan of Sooloo governs also the groupe of Cayagan, a great part of Paragoa, and the northern land of Borneo. The people of Sooloo are chiefly bands of Malayan pirates, who infest the neighbouring shores and seas.*

The Philippine Islands were discovered by Magellan in the first voyage that was made round the world. They were at first called the Archipelago of St. Lazarus. This was in 1520. In 1565 a Spanish colony was formed under the command of Lopez de Legaspi, and the islands were named after Philip II. of Spain. A bull of the pope which gave possession of this region to the kings of Spain obliged them

* Dumont d'Urville, Voyage Pittoresque; Balbi, Abrégé de Géographie, p. 1260.

to establish and maintain the Christian religion in their foreign possessions, and a great number of missionaries were sent to the Philippine Islands. The population of the islands was said to amount to three millions of souls. The first ecclesiastics who attempted the work of converting these pagan people to the Catholic faith were the Augustinians.* Missionaries of other orders soon followed, and the monks were very assiduous in learning the languages of the islanders, and in translating into some of them the offices and catechisms of their church, and in propagating its doctrines among the native people. Each religious order compiled the history of its particular province in three or four folio volumes, containing narratives of their proceedings for the conversion of the natives, and likewise historical notices of the countries and their inhabitants. Of these the work of the Franciscans, published at Manilla in 1738, is considered to be the best. Some parts of it have been translated by M. Le Gentil, who made it the basis of his excellent history of the Philippine Islands. According to the testimony of these writers miracles accompanied and facilitated the work of conversion. The country of Taal, not far from Manilla, was agitated by a powerful volcano which broke out in an island situated in a lagoon. Father Albuquerque passed over into the island, and led a procession and celebrated mass. During all the time occupied by these ceremonies the mountain uttered a frightful noise, but afterwards it was found that the summit had fallen in, and all was quiet. Some years afterwards the natives were again affrighted by thick volumes of smoke which issued from the summit, when a repetition of the ceremonies was followed by a like effect. Still the mountain uttered occasionally horrible noises, until a procession of monks headed by Father Thomas de Abren ascended to the very crater of the volcano and fixed on the summit a wooden cross, so heavy that it required four hundred men to bear it up the mountain. Since that time the volcano of the lagoon has ceased to terrify the neighbouring country, and the valleys of Taal have regained their pristine fertility. Such is

* Le Gentil, Hist. des Iles Philippines.

the narrative of Father Gaspard, a monk of the Augustinian order who wrote the history of the Philippines.

Valuable and original information respecting the races of people in these islands is to be found in the letters of several ecclesiastics, published by Abbate Hervas in his work on languages. The following are remarks by Don Francisco Garcia de Torres, a missionary in the island of Capul or Abac, which lies in the way from the Marian Islands to Luzon. This missionary had composed a dictionary, catechism, and other works in the language of Capul, and was acquainted also with the Bisaya, Tagala, and Pampanga languages, and others which were spoken in the Philippine Islands. He says, "I agree with you in believing almost all the idioms of the Philippine and of the other islands in their vicinity, to be dialects of, that is, nearly allied to, the Malayan language, which is spoken on the continent of Malacca; this can be perceived clearly in the more cultivated idioms, such as the Tagala, Bisaya, Pampanga, &c. I understood perfectly the language of Capul, and, in conversing with one of the Borneans, I discovered the dialects of Capul and Borneo to be the same, with some minute variations. In the island of Capul or Abac, as the natives call it, there are three languages, or rather three dialects. One of these is spoken in that part of the island which looks southward. It is called Inagta, which means Negro, because the negroes inhabit that quarter. In the northern part another dialect is spoken, termed Inabacnum. There is another general language, in which we preached and administered the holy sacraments. The Inagta or Inabacnum, and all the other islanders, mutually understand each other, though each speaks in his own proper language. I learned all the three, and composed catechisms, a dictionary, &c. in the Inabacnum."

It appears from this account that the Negro or woolly-haired tribes speak, at least in some of the Philippine Islands, dialects cognate to those of the Malayan, or rather the Polynesian race.

The Tagala and Bisaya dialects are nearly allied, as it may be seen by comparing vocabularies or the version of the

Oratio Dominica in these languages. The Tagala is said by these writers to be the proper language of the islands of Luzon and Marinduque. The following account of the sub-dialects of the Tagala is given by Hervas, from the Abbate Don Bernardo de la Fuente, a missionary who was familiarly and critically versed both in the Tagala and Bisaya. He says, "In the Isle of Luzon the following dialects are spoken; 1. In Manilla, the capital, and its environs, the pure Tagala. 2. In Camarines, the Camarino, which is a mixture of the Tagala and the Bisaya of the Isle of Samar. 3. The Pampanga. 4. The Pangasinan. 5. The Ilocos. 6. The Zambale, which is proper to the mountaineers. 7. The Cayagan. 8. The Maitim, that is, Negro, which is spoken by the Negroes who inhabit the mountains in the interior. All these languages are dialects of the Tagala, though some of them differ considerably from others."

Of the dialects of the other Philippine Islands we have in the same work an account written by the Abbate Don Antonio Torres, who travelled through all the islands, and understood all the languages spoken in them. He says, "I have seen the account of the Tagala dialects which Signor Abbate de la Fuente places in Luzon, and I have nothing to add to his enumeration. Of the Bisayan language spoken in the other Philippine Islands, which are often termed Bisayan Isles, there are the following dialects: 1, the Mindanao; 2, the Samar; 3, the dialect of Iolo; 4, that of Bohol. The Mindanao comprises some difficult dialects; for being detained there a year and a half in slavery, I continually endeavoured to understand some of them, and found very many words quite unintelligible to me. I made similar attempts to comprehend the dialect of Iolo, where I also was a slave for half a year. In Mindanao, which is the second of the Philippine Islands, there are the following dialects. 1. The pure Bisaya is spoken in some districts. The author then mentions some others; among them the fourth is the Lutao, so named from *lutao*, which signifies to swim; it is spoken by the Lutai, who live by fishing, and dwell almost entirely in their barks, which are in fact their houses. 5. The dialect of the Negroes, who inhabit the

interior of the island, and there support themselves on the fruits of trees and on the honey made by the bees of the woods." In all the other Philippine Islands is spoken the language which is termed Bisayan. In Iolo, which is one of them, is to be found a resort of people who come on account of traffic from Malacca, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and Celebes or Macassar, and all their languages are intelligible to the Ioloans.

It may be observed that these missionaries regard the idioms of the Negroes as cognate dialects with the Tagala and Bisaya. This is explicitly affirmed by the Abbate Torres in the following terms:—"La lingua dell' Isola detta de' Negri è la Bisaya stessa, col miscuglio di moltissime parole forestieri;" and by De la Fuente, who says, "La loro lingua è Boholana, poiche in essa mi parlavano sebbene adulterata." Bernardo de la Fuente has likewise given a description of the people of the island called Isla de los Negros. As this belongs to another part of my subject, I shall pass it by at present.

We have no want of information of the physical characters of the Philippine islanders. Mr. Marsden says of them generally that they resemble the Sumatrans and Macassars in person as well as in language and manners. He says that they are a robust well-made people, fair, but inclining to a copper colour, with flattish noses and black eyes and hair.

The people of Mindanao are described by Dampier, who says that Mindanao and St. John's Isle are the only ones in all the groupe not subject to the Spaniards. The people of Mindanao are under several princes, and speak different languages, but "are much alike in colour, strength, and stature." They are all or mostly Mohammedan, and similar in manners. Besides the proper Mindanayans, who are the greatest nation, there are the Hilhuoones or the mountaineers, the Sologues, and the Alfoories. The Alfoories are the same with the Mindanayans."

The Mindanayans, properly so called, are men of mean stature, small limbs, straight bodies, and little beards; their

faces are oval, their foreheads flat, with small black eyes, short low noses, pretty large mouths, their lips thin and red, their teeth black, yet very sound; their hair black and straight, the colour of their skin tawny, but inclining to a brighter colour than some other Indians, especially the women." "They are endowed with good natural wits, are ingenious, nimble, and active when they are minded, but generally very lazy and thievish, and will not work except when forced by hunger."

The Tagala is, according to Dr. Leyden, more properly the Tá-Gala or Gala language. He says it is considered by those who have studied it with most attention as the radical language from which the greater part if not all the idioms of the Philippine Islands are derived. A missionary who had resided eighteen years in these islands, and whose account of them has been translated from the Spanish, and inserted by Thevenot in his "Rélations de Divers Voyages," printed in Paris in 1664, declares that, though every district has its particular dialect, yet that these have all some relation to each other, such as subsists between the Lombard, Sicilian, and Tuscan dialects. Some of these are spoken in several islands, but the most general are the Tagala and the Bisaya, the last of which is very rude and barbarous, the former more refined and polished. Friar Gaspar de San Augustin confirms this account, and says that all these particular tongues are dialects of one language. M. de Humboldt concluded from all the information he could collect that the four principal dialects of the Philippines, the Tagala, the Bisaya, the Pampanga, and the Iloco idioms, with their subordinate varieties, constitute in the great Malayo-Polynesian family of languages a smaller groupe of dialects more closely allied. This seems to be the concurrent testimony of all well-informed writers on the subject. Humboldt says that his own investigation comprises only the Tagala and the Bisaya.

A Spanish missionary who possessed an intimate knowledge of the Tagala declared that it possesses the combined advantages of the four principal languages of the world.

"It is as mysterious as the Hebrew; it has articles for nouns, both appellative and proper, like the Greek; it is elegant and copious as the Latin, and equal to the Italian as the language of compliment or business."* The nouns in Tagala have, properly speaking, neither genders, numbers, nor cases; nor the verbs moods, tenses, or persons. All the words are in fact indeclinable, as in the Tartar and Chinese languages. The artifices which it chiefly employs are the prefixing and postfixing numerous particles, which are again combined or coalesce with others, and the complete or partial repetition of terms.†

It appears from the accounts of the Spanish missionaries who have written works on the history of the Philippine islanders and on the Tagala language, that the ancient religious traditions of the Tagala race, their genealogies, and the feats of their gods and heroes, are carefully preserved in their historical poems and songs, which their youth commit to memory and are accustomed to recite during labour and in long voyages, but particularly at their festivals and during lamentations for the dead. These original memorials of the race the missionaries have with superstitious zeal attempted to extirpate, substituting religious compositions of their own, in the hope of supplanting the remains of national and pagan antiquity. Many psalms and hymns, and even some of the Greek dramas by Dionysius Areopagita, have been translated into the Tagala.

* Leyden, Asiatic Res. 10, p. 207.

† Dr. Leyden gives as an example the following forms, which may well be compared with the formative process of the Mongolian and other Tartar idioms.

Tolog signifies *sleep;* natolog ako, *I slept;* natotolog ako, *I am sleeping:* matolog, *sleep;* matotolog ako, *I will sleep:* katolog, pagkatolog, and pagkakatolog, *sleeping:* natotologpa ako, *I slept, or was sleeping:* ang natotolog, *the sleeper:* ang matotolog, *the person who is to sleep, dormiturus:* natologan, *the having been asleep;* natotologan, *the being asleep:* katologan, *the act of sleeping,* or *the sleeping place,* &c.; and for the plural, nangatologan, nangatotologan, pangatologan, pangatotologan, &c.; the particles na, ma, and pa becoming nanga, manga, and panga in the plural.

Section II.—*Of the Natives of Sumatra.*

The island of Sumatra has long been the seat of arts and civilisation. The character of the native inhabitants has undergone great changes; they are, with the exception of the Javanese, the most cultivated people in the eastern archipelago. We cannot find in this island the characteristic traits of the unmixed Malayo-Polynesians; nevertheless, in the interior of the country, and yet more in the range of small islands on the south-western side of Sumatra, some remarkable vestiges may still be traced, indicating the former prevalence in Sumatra of a state of manners and of customs and of languages nearly resembling those of the distant Oceanic tribes.

In the interior of Sumatra some savage hordes yet exist who are generally supposed to be Papuas or Haraforas. They are termed, according to Marsden, by the Malays Orang Kubu and Orang Gugu. Besides these almost unknown tribes Sumatra contains several distinct nations, differing from each other in manners and religion as well as in language and physical characters, but all referable to the western branch of the Malayo-Polynesian race. These nations are the Orang Malaio or Malays of Menangkabao, the Battahs, the Rejangs, the Lampongs, and the Achí, or people of Achin.

Paragraph 1.—Of the Orang Malaio.

Menangkabao is the principal state in Sumatra, and its kings are supposed to have been formerly sovereigns of the whole island, from all the chieftains of which they still receive the shadow of homage. Menangkabao is the interior and southern portion of Sumatra, and consists chiefly of well cultivated and populous plains. The natives of Menangkabao are the most civilised people of the island: they are

all Mohammedans, while most of the other inhabitants of Sumatra are still Pagans. They write their language in Arabic characters, whereas the other nations have distinct alphabets of their own.

The Malays of Menangkabao differ little in physical characters from their brethren of Malacca on the continent.* Both nations bear a general resemblance to the Siamese and other Indo-Chinese nations in general, and they must be considered as nearly associated by their physical type to that department of the Asiatic races, though distinguished from them by a differently constructed language.

Mr. Marsden has given a general description of the Sumatrans, which, as he says, will suit all the native races except the Achinese. It has reference, however, principally to the Malays. It is as follows:—

"They are rather below the middle stature; their bulk is in proportion; their limbs are for the most part slight but well-shaped, and particularly small at the ankles. Upon the whole they are gracefully formed." "The women flatten the noses and compress the heads of children newly born, a custom which increases their tendency to that shape. Captain Cook observed the same practice in the isle of Ulietea. They likewise pull out the ears of infants to make them stand at an angle from the head. Their eyes are uniformly dark and clear, and among some, especially the southern women, have a strong resemblance to those of the Chinese, in the peculiarity of formation so generally observed of that people. Their hair is strong, and of a shining black; it is constantly moistened with cocoa-nut oil. The women wear their hair long, sometimes reaching to the ground. The men destroy their beards with chunam or quick-lime, and their chins are so smooth that an uninformed person would imagine them naturally destitute of hair." "Their complexion is properly yellow, wanting the red tinge that constitutes a tawny or

* I have been informed by Mr. Smith, a baptist missionary, who has travelled in Menangkabao in the hope of spreading Christianity among the people, and who has written a very interesting account of his journey, yet unpublished, that the Sumatran Malays are somewhat of lighter complexion than those of the continent.

copper colour. They are generally lighter than the Mestees or half-breed of the rest of India; those of the superior class who are not exposed to the rays of the sun, and particularly the women of rank, approaching to a degree of fairness."

The Malays, as Dr. Leyden informs us, are called Khek by the Siamese, and Mesu by the Burmahs. This writer says that the Maha-Raja of Menangkabao derives his origin from Lankapura in Java, and that the people are supposed to have had their derivation from that quarter; but no historical account of such an event as this migration has been preserved. Mr. Crawfurd, whose opinion on this subject is of the greatest authority, considers Menangkabao as without dispute the parent country of the Malayan race. He says that, unlike all other Malay states, meaning settlements on the coast of the peninsula and of other islands in the Archipelago, Menangkabao is an inland country. "Its original limits," he adds,* "to the eastern side of the island were the great rivers of Palembang and Siak, and to the west those of Manjuta and Singkel. As the transaction does not pretend to very remote antiquity, we may credit the universal assertion of the Malays themselves, though it would not be safe to trust to the details which they furnish, that all the Malayan tribes, wherever situated, emigrated, directly or indirectly, from this parent establishment. We are at first view struck with the improbability of an inland people undertaking a maritime emigration; but their emigration, it will perhaps appear on a closer examination, may really be ascribed to this peculiarity of situation. The country which the primitive Malayan race inhabits is described as a great and fertile plain, well cultivated, and having a frequent and ready communication with the sea by the largest rivers within the bounds of the Archipelago. The probability, then, is, that a long period of tranquillity secured by the supremacy which the people of Menangkabao acquired over the whole island occasioned a rapid and universal start in civilisation and population—that the best lands became scarce—and that in

* History of the Indian Archipelago, vol. ii., p. 372.

consequence the *swarm* which founded Singhapura in the peninsula was thrown off."

It must be observed that most of the information we possess respecting the character of the Malays relates principally to people of the Malayan colonies on the coast in various parts of the Archipelago, where they are much better known than in the inland country of Sumatra; and it is very much to be desired that we could obtain more exact accounts of the Orang Malaio in their native state.

Mr. Crawfurd informs us that there is "a surprising uniformity in the languages of all the Malayan tribes both oral and written, a circumstance to be attributed to the similarity of their situations and the stationary condition of their manners throughout, since the period when their language assumed its present form. The language of the people of Menangkabao, the parent tribe, differs most from the rest. As far as I can judge, the best Malay is written and spoken in the state of Iraeda or Keddah. Here at least the Malays are most anxious about the purity of their language, and most scrupulous in excluding foreign words. In the neighbourhood of the other great tribes of the Archipelago the language is often corrupted by admixture with their dialects, and in the vicinity of former or existing European establishments by a mixture of Portuguese and Dutch, still more incompatible with its genius."

The Malays have literary compositions, which are works of fiction derived from the Sanskrit poems, and from various Arabian stories. For an account of these I must refer my readers to Mr. Marsden's History of Sumatra and his Malayan Grammar, to Dr. Leyden's Memoirs on the Language and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations, in the tenth volume of the Asiatic Researches, and to Mr. Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago.

Paragraph 2.—Of the Battas.

The Battas are, next to the Malays, the most numerous people in Sumatra. They inhabit an inland region, in the

western part of the island, and are supposed to be the most ancient of its inhabitants. Their language is peculiar to them, but it is said to be connected with the Malayan, and also with the Búgis and Burmah languages. Its relation to the Búgis is, according to Dr. Leyden, the most intimate. This writer says that the Batta language is the principal source of the variety of idiom discovered in the island. The Rejing appears to have been formed by a mixture of Batta and Malay, and the Lampong by Malay and Batta, blended with a certain proportion of Javanese; the Achinese is a mixture of Batta and Malay, with the idiom of some Indian nation of the continent.

The dialect of the rude natives of the Neas and Poggi Islands is said to be more like the Batta than any other language.*

The Battas have had a peculiar alphabet from immemorial times, and are said to have numerous books. The alphabet is peculiar both in the form and arrangement of the characters, but bears a general resemblance to the other alphabets of the insular tribes. The Batta writing is generally in perpendicular lines, but, unlike the Chinese, is read from the bottom to the top of the line; this arrangement has probably taken its rise from the materials on which the Battas usually write, which are bamboos or a smoothened surface on the branch of a tree. The Batta characters when arranged in their proper position have a considerable analogy to those of the Búgis and Tagala; and Dr. Leyden was of opinion that the differences between the alphabets of the Battas and those of the Rejangs and Lampongs have arisen accidentally from the different materials on which these nations write. It is said that almost every individual among the Battas has learned to read and write.

The Battas are pagans, but we have no correct information as to the nature of their superstition. They have little images, but Mr. Marsden doubts whether these are objects of worship or merely a sort of talisman. It is said that they have priests who are termed Gúrús, an Indian name, perhaps unknown

* Leyden.

to the Battas themselves. In their domestic manners they are scarcely less civilised than the Malays, but have preserved certain customs from an older and more barbarous state, when they must have borne a strong resemblance to the natives of New Zealand. They eat human flesh in a sort of ceremony. The victim is a prisoner of war or a malefactor, who after being tried and condemned is tied to a stake, his head covered with a cloth, when the people assembled throw lances at him, and after he is mortally wounded run up to him and cut pieces from his body with knives. They dip these morsels in a dish of salt and lemon-juice, slightly broil them over a fire prepared for the purpose, and then devour them with savage delight. On certain occasions the Battas tattoo their limbs with figures of birds and beasts, and paint them of divers colours. It is said that they are called Batak in the Bisayan language of the Philippines, by which same term the tattooed people are known who by the Spaniards are named "*Pintados.*"

The natives of the neighbouring Neas and Poggi Islands speak, according to Dr. Leyden, a dialect nearly resembling that of the Battas, and they probably may be regarded as an exemplar of the ancient state of the Batta nation. I shall cite the description given of these islanders by Mr. Crisp, as a supplement to the preceding remarks on the Battas.

The Poggi islanders are a finely-formed people; their stature seldom exceeds five feet and a half; their complexion is, like that of the Malays, a light brown or copper colour. The numerals in their language most resemble those of the Battas and Lampongs. They are at present quite a distinct people from the Sumatrans, and much more resemble the Polynesian tribes in the Pacific. They make cloth of the bark of a tree, which they wear in the same manner as those islanders, and the practice of tattooing the skin is general among them, as among the New Zealanders. They believe in certain unknown invisible beings, to whom they sometimes sacrifice a hog or a fowl to arrest sickness or prevent other calamities, and they dispose of their dead nearly in the same way as the Otaheiteans. These people may be considered

as representing the original inhabitants of Sumatra before the introduction of arts and refinement by the Hindoos. The people of the Neas Islands differ in some respects from those of Poggi. According to Dr. Leyden the dialects of both these tribes are allied to those of the Battas in Sumatra.

Paragraph 3.—Other Sumatran Tribes.

3. The Rejangs.—The Rejangs live in villages under the government of magistrates subject to a king of the whole country. They are separated into clans, or tribes, or kindreds. They are a civilised people, and are described by Mr. Marsden as giving a fair specimen of the population of Sumatra.

4. The Lampúngs inhabit the southern extremity of the island: their language differs considerably from that of the Rejangs, and they have a peculiar alphabet. Of all Sumatrans they have the strongest resemblance to the Chinese, particularly in the roundness of their face and the position of the eyes. They are the fairest people in the island, and their women the fattest and esteemed the most handsome.

5. The Achí or Achinese occupy the northern extremity of Sumatra. Next to them towards the interior are the tribes of Allas, Reeah, and Karro. The two former have the manners of the Achinese; the latter resemble the Battas. The Achi differ extremely in their persons from the other Sumatrans, being taller, stouter, and of darker colour. They are Mohammedan, and are not a pure race, but supposed to be descended from a mixture of Battas, Malays, and Moors, the last name being applied to Mohammedan Indians from the Dekhan. The Achi are much superior in many respects to the other tribes of Sumatrans.

Section III.—*Of the People of Java and the neighbouring Islands; the Javans, Sundas, Madurans, and Balians.*

The native population of Java, Madura, and Bali use one

general language, as we are assured by the historian of Java, Sir T. S. Raffles, and exactly the same written character, and they are intimately connected in every respect. Of this general idiom there are four dialects differing so much from each other as to be commonly regarded as distinct languages. These dialects or languages are the Sunda, spoken by the inhabitants of the mountainous districts of Java, west of Tegal; the Jáwa, which is the general language of Java, west of Chéribon and throughout the districts lying on the northern coast of the island; the Madura and the Bali being dialects belonging to those islands respectively.

Besides the Jáwa there is another language belonging to the Javan portion of the greater island: this is to the Jáwa what the Sanskrit is to the vernacular dialects of India, and the Pali to the Burman and Siamese. I have already adverted to the history of the remarkable Káwi language. It is, as we have seen, a refined and polished language formed by the introduction of numerous Sanskrit words engrafted on the stock of the genuine Polynesian Jáwa.

The Sunda language, though now confined to the mountainous districts, was, previously to the Mohammedan conversion of the people of Java and the revolution therewith connected, the general idiom of all the western part of the island. Sir T. S. Raffles supposed it to be the most ancient vernacular language of the whole country; that is, the most simple and unmixed dialect, seeing that all the dialects belong to one stock. The proportion of the people who now speak Sunda does not exceed one-tenth of the whole population of the island: the remaining nine-tenths speak Jáwa. The Sunda language is a simple uncultivated dialect, adapted to the use of the rude mountaineers who speak it, and it has escaped the influence of foreign innovation from the peculiar nature of the country and the independent character of the race. It possesses a considerable proportion of words common to it and the Malayan, and some words of Sanskrit origin adopted apparently from the Javans: these are chiefly words of art and social improvement.

The people of Java have so much resemblance to the Siamese and other nations of the Indo-Chinese peninsula

that the judicious and intelligent Sir T. S. Raffles was persuaded to consider them all of one race. To this he applies the description given by Dr. Francis Buchanan to Tartar nations,—a name which, in the acceptation taken by that writer, includes most of the Trans-Gangetic races. Dr. Buchanan makes it comprehend the eastern and western Tartars of Chinese authors, the Kalmuks, the Chinese, the Japanese, and other tribes of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, as well as the population of all the islands as far as New Guinea. "This plainly comprises the great islands of the Indian seas. The Tartar race, as described by Buchanan, may be distinguished by a short, squat, robust, fleshy stature, and by features greatly different from those of an European. The face is somewhat in the shape of a lozenge, the forehead and chin being sharpened, while at the cheek-bones it is very broad. Their hair is harsh, lank, and black. Those nations of this family, as the same writer observes, in the highest climates do not attain the deep hue of the Negro or Hindú; nor do such of them as live in the coldest climates acquire the clear bloom of the European."

Such is the description of a great department of the human family, to which, judging, as it would appear, from physical resemblance alone, these two writers, celebrated as extensive and accurate observers, identify the Javanese. I shall now cite the particular description given by Sir T. S. Raffles of the natives of Java particularly.

"The inhabitants of Java and Madura are in stature rather below the middle size, though not so short as the Búgis and many other islanders. They are upon the whole well-shaped, though less remarkably so than the Malays, and erect in their figures. Their limbs are slender, and their wrists and ankles particularly small." "Deformity is very rare among them. The forehead is high, the eyebrows well marked and distant from the eyes, which are somewhat Chinese, or rather Tartar in the formation of the inner angle. The colour of the eye is dark; the nose small and somewhat flat, but less so than those of the islanders. The mouth is well formed, but the lips are larger, and their beauty generally injured by the practice of filing and dyeing the teeth black, and by the use

of tobacco, sivi, &c. The cheek-bones are usually prominent, the beards rather scanty, the hair of the head generally lank and black, but sometimes waving in curls, and partially tinged with a deep reddish brown colour. The countenance is mild, placid, and thoughtful, and easily expresses respect, gaiety, earnestness, indifference, bashfulness, or anxiety.

"In complexion the Javans as well as the other eastern islanders may be considered rather a yellow than a copper-coloured or black race. They are generally darker, however, than the tribes of the neighbouring islands, especially the inhabitants of the eastern districts, who may indeed be considered as having more delicate features, and bearing a more distinct impression of Indian colonisation than those of the western or Sunda districts. In some respects they resemble the Madurese, who display a more martial air than the natives of Java." It is added that a considerable difference exists in complexion and features between the higher and lower classes, and in different districts.

In Bali the religion and government are still Hindú. The people are divided into the four great Hindú castes, and there are Brahmans of two orders, termed Brahmáne Sewa and Brahmáne Búda. The natives of Bali, though of the same stock, differ considerably from the Javans: "they are above the middle size of Asiatics, and equal both in stature and muscular power either the Javan or Malayan."

Sir T. S. Raffles has compared the Javan people with the other two most powerful nations of the Indian Ocean, namely, the Malays and the Búgis, the former being the dominant people of Sumatra, and the latter of the Island of Celebes. He first observes their mutual resemblance. "Whatever opinion," he says, "may be formed as to the identity of origin between the nations inhabiting these islands and the neighbouring peninsula, the striking resemblance in person, feature, language, and customs which prevails throughout the whole Archipelago, justifies the conclusion that the original population issued from the same source, and that the peculiarities which distinguish the different nations and communities into which it is at present distributed are the result of long separation, local circumstances, and foreign intercourse.

Of the three chief nations in these islands (the Philippines being excluded as distant from the scene of these observations) occupying respectively Java, Sumatra, and Celebes, the first has, especially by its moral habits, by its superior civilisation and improvements, obtained a more marked character than the others. Both the Malayan and Búgis nations are maritime and commercial, devoted to gain, animated by a spirit of adventure, and accustomed to distant and hazardous enterprises; while the Javans, on the contrary, are an agricultural race, attached to the soil, of quiet habits and contented disposition, almost entirely unacquainted with trade and navigation, and little inclined to engage in either. This difference of character may be accounted for by the great superiority of the soil in Java.

"The Malayan empire, which once extended over all Sumatra, and the capital of which is still nominally at Menángkábaù on that island, had long been dismembered; but its colonies were found established on the coasts of the peninsula and throughout the islands, as far east as the Moluccas. The Mohammedan institution considerably changed their earlier character."

"What the Malayan empire was in Sumatra in the western part of the Archipelago, that of Guah or Mengkásar was in Celebes in the east; but the people of this latter country, named Búgis, retained longer their native customs and ancient worship. Like the Malays, they sent forth numerous colonies, and at one period extended the success of their arms as far as Achín in Sumatra, and Keddah on the Malayan peninsula; and in almost every part of the Archipelago Malayan and Búgis settlers and establishments are to be found."

"The Javans, on the contrary, being an agricultural people, are seldom met with out of their native island. *At one period of their history*, indeed, their power seems to have been exerted in foreign conquest, and they seem to have sent out colonies to Borneo, the Peninsula, Sumatra, and probably Celebes; but when Europeans became acquainted with them, their sovereignty was nearly confined to Java. Their foreign colonies, being abandoned, had become cut off from the

parent stock and gradually merged into the body of the Malayan nation. But the greater fertility of Java invited the visits of more civilised strangers, and hence Java became the principal seat of arts and of the cultivation of literature."

Section IV.—*Of the Búgis and other Nations of Celebes.*

The third people mentioned by Marsden and other writers as forming, together with the Malayans and the Javanese, the three civilised nations of the Indian Archipelago, are the Búgis or Búghis *—the name is also written Bugguess—who are inhabitants of the Isle of Celebes, of which they possess the south-eastern part.

Celebes is a long and narrow island, of irregular shape, spread out into promontories or projecting lands. The northern promontory stretches up towards Magindano and the Archipelago of the Philippines, from which it is separated by a wide channel called the Sea of Celebes: its middle part lies over against Borneo: the intervening channel is named the Sea of Makásar. The southern and broadest part of the island, containing the seat of its civilised nations, reaches down into the great channel of the Javan sea, which runs from east to west to the northward of Sumatra and the Javan chain.

It is probable that the original inhabitants of Celebes were of the same race as those of Borneo, but the destiny of Celebes has been different from that of the larger island. While Borneo has remained uncivilised and its people almost entirely unknown, Celebes became at an early period a seat of that civilisation which has been spread, originating from the Indian continent, through a great part of the Archipelago. This island, according to Mr. Crawfurd, is the centre whence that peculiar kind of culture emanated which has reached the eastern parts of the Indian seas. "The moment we pass the

* This name is sometimes written Búghis to denote that the *g* is hard. For the same reason the French write Guilolo instead of Gilolo. In the received orthography of Asiatic names, proposed by Sir W. Jones, *g* is always hard, and for a soft *g* it is customary to substitute *j*, or less correctly *dj*.

island of Lombok opposite Celebes," says this writer, " proceeding eastward, striking features of difference are to the most ordinary observer discernible in the manners and habits of the people of the Indian islands, and the languages as well as the moral characteristics of the natives of Sambawa, Flores, Timor, Butug, and Salayar display evident manifestations of this influence."

The northern and central parts of Celebes are inhabited by tribes of a people very little known, who are termed Turajas. They are said by Crawfurd to be barbarous, and to be allied to the Idaan of Borneo, both being tribes of Alforas or Haraforas. They are regarded as the aborigines. Sir T. S. Raffles says that the Turajas resemble in their manners the Dayaks of Borneo and the Harafora tribes of the Eastern Archipelago in general. " They deposit their dead in caves on the sides of hills." In the north-eastern parts of Celebes, in the long and narrow country which stretches out eastward towards Gilolo, the native people are still termed by the Dutch settlers " Haraforas." They inhabit villages spread through the country under petty chieftains, subject to the Dutch colony at the bay or harbour of Manado.*

In the southern part of Celebes two languages are spoken which are known to be Malayo-Polynesian dialects. These are the Búgis and Makásar languages, the idioms of civilised nations. The people name themselves Wugi or Ugi, and Mengkása or Mengkasára. The language of the Mengkasa or Makasars, or some dialect of it, is spoken in the country extending from Bálu Kúmba to Segere, where the first European settlement in the island was founded. The petty states included in this compass are Bálu Kúmba, Bontain, Tarabáya, Gúa, Máros, and Segére. The Búgis is much more general than the Makásar, extending over the whole tract from Bóni to Lúwu, which comprehends the four great states of Lúwu, Bóni, Wáju, and Soping, besides their numerous dependencies. In Mandhur and its vicinity the Mándhur language is spoken. It appears from the vocabulary given by Raffles to be allied to the Makásar. In the

* D'Urville, Voyage de l'Astrolabe, tom. v. 2de partie.

centre and body of the island to the northward, according to the same writer, simpler or ruder dialects prevail among the Turajas or Haraforas, supposed to be the aborigines.*

The Búgis are the principal and most improved people of the island, and they have long been civilised and acquainted with the art of writing, and possessed of a domestic literature. The original source of their civilisation was probably the continent of India, and the Hindu religion prevailed among them as it did in Java before the introduction of Mohammedanism into both islands. The Búgis have, according to Mr. Crawfurd, an ancient and recondite language analogous to the Kawi of the Javans. They have a considerable body of literature, consisting of tales and romances founded on national traditions, and partly of translations from the Javan and Malayan. The idiom of the Makasars is less cultivated, and their literature inferior.

The Búgis had, as we are informed by Crawfurd, a calendar in ancient times, but no national era corresponding to that of the Jávans till they adopted the Mohammedan. Their literature is said to be altogether very inferior to that of Java, and their records do not go back with certainty more than four hundred years. At the time of the first visit of the Portuguese to Makasar in 1504, there were but a few Mohammedans amongst the people, who were chiefly of the Hindu religion; but Islam was soon afterwards spread among them through the influence of the Malays of the peninsula and of Menangkabao.

The Búgis language, according to Dr. Leyden, is essentially allied to that of the Battas in Sumatra. It resembles the Malayan and Tagala in its construction. With the ancient Tarnata or language of the Moluccas it also exhibits some evidences. These three languages are cognate, and have a radical affinity not only in their vocabulary, but also in their grammatical structure. Customs analogous to those of the Battas are said to prevail among the Búgis in the interior of the island, as that of eating human flesh. They eat their prisoners of war. The aboriginal Búgis appear to have

* Sir T. S. Raffles' Java, vol. ii. appendix F.

had a close connection with the ancient Battas, and they likewise resembled the Bisayas and the Pintados of the Philippines.*

The origin of Indian culture among the Búgis is unknown, nor can it be determined whether it was introduced from Java or immediately from the continent. Sir T. S. Raffles has observed that no Indian inscriptions or other monuments indicating the former abode or domination of Hindoos in Celebes have been hitherto seen by Europeans, though it is reported that Hindú temples exist in the territory of Bontain. The best-informed natives call themselves descendants of Hindoos, and the names of Hindu divinities given to kings, &c. in Celebes, such as Batara Guru, Baruna, indicate a connection either immediate or indirect with India. Batara Guru, a local name for Siva, celebrated in Java, is the name of the first of the Búgis kings. The prevalence in Celebes of local Javan names, or the transference from Java to Celebes of such names of places as Majopáhit, Gresik, Japan, indicate the settlement of Javans in the former island, and render it probable that it was through the medium of Java that Celebes received its Indian culture, and perhaps its earliest civilisation.

The last writer who has paid some attention to the language and literature of the Búgis was the Baron W. A. Humboldt, who, however, had no additional sources of information beyond the short notices afforded by Raffles, Crawfurd, and Leyden, except a vocabulary brought to Germany by Professor Neumann, and prepared by Thornsen, a Danish missionary, President of the Christian Union at Singapore. Humboldt judged, from a comparison of all the data in his reach, that the Búgis idiom will be found to be an intermediate member of the family of languages, and to constitute the transition between the West Malayan dialects and those of the Oceanic branch. Humboldt has discovered, how-

* M. Le Gentil says, " Les Bisayas et les Pintados, que l'on a trouvé à Camarines, à Leyte, Panay, et Zébu, ont la même origine que les peuples de Macassar, (the island of Celebes,) qui se peignent le visage et le corps à la façon des Bisayas des Philippines."—Voyage de M. Le Gentil, tom. ii. p. 58.

ever, in the Búgis a considerable number of Sanskrit words.

The alphabet of the Búgis bears much analogy to that of the Tagalas, according to M. de Humboldt, who has compared it with the characters used by other nations of the Archipelago and with the Deva-nagari, as well as with the modifications of the Deva-nagari adopted by different nations of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The result of this comparison is, that all these alphabets are of Indian, that is, of Brahmanic origin; that they were formed, not on the model of the present Deva-nagari, but on that of a more ancient alphabet of which the Deva-nagari is a comparatively late improvement. This inference extends to the alphabets of the nations inhabiting the Indo-Chinese continent, as well as to those of the Malayo-Polynesian tribes in the islands of the Archipelago.

The Búgis have a decided character. Mr. Earle, in the narrative of his first voyage, has described the Búgis colonists of Singhapura. He says they bear a strong personal resemblance to the Malays; but that in honesty, energy of character, and general conduct, they are far superior. They are deservedly praised for their upright conduct in commercial transactions, greater reliance being placed on their bare word by those who are acquainted with their native character, than on the most sacred oaths taken by the natives of Bengal and Coromandel.*

The natives of Celebes have been remarked as having in their features some resemblance to the Tartars and Chinese.† This is common to them and the Malays. Their colour is yellow. Though more perceptibly tinged with this hue than European women labouring under chlorosis, they are called by the people of the Moluccas "Whites." They are of light, active form of body, well made, and rather below the middle stature.‡

* The Eastern Seas, or Voyages, &c. in the Indian Archipelago. By George Windsor Earle, M.R.A.S.; London, 1837, p. 389.

† Labillardière, Voyage à la Récherche de La Pérouse.

‡ Raffles' Java, vol. ii. Appendix F.

Section V.—*The Native People of Borneo.*

The Island of Borneo, with the exception of Australasia the largest in the world, though situated in the immediate vicinity of European colonies, and adjacent to the highway of traffic between the countries of the remote East, is, as to its inland parts, perhaps the most unknown region on the face of the globe. It lies under the equator between the 7° N. L. and the 4° 20′ S. L.: its western side looks towards Sumatra and the peninsula of Malacca, its southern coast towards Java, and its eastern towards the Isle of Celebes. It is said to be 300 leagues from north to south, and its greatest breadth is 250 leagues. The name of Borneo is supposed to be a corruption of Brunaï or Varouni, which, according to M. de Rienzi, belongs not to the island, but to the kingdom of Borneo, generally termed Borneo Proper, or to the town which is its capital. The natives, according to the same writer, give the name of Pulo-Kalemantan or Tana-Kalemantan to the whole island.*

Many Europeans have lost their lives in attempts to penetrate into the interior of Borneo. Captain Padler perished there in 1769; Dutton was long a prisoner at the court of the sultan of Kotti; and Major Müller, sent a few years since by the Dutch to survey a part of the coast, was murdered by the natives. Two attempts made by the English to establish themselves in this island have signally failed. All the authentic information as yet obtained respecting Borneo is confined to the sea-coast. This coast, as we are assured by Mr. Earle, has long furnished to various nations of Eastern India a place of refuge for those who have been driven from home by religious persecutions, by excess of population, or by the misfortunes of war. This intelligent traveller informs us that the sea-border of Borneo is inhabited by various nations unconnected with each other, governed respectively by their own laws, and retaining their original habits and customs.

* Océanie, par M. G. L. D. de Rienzi, Paris, 1836.

The western part is chiefly occupied by colonies of Malays; on the northern coast settlers from Cochin-China have established themselves; the pirates of the Súlú archipelago have gained possession of the north-eastern parts; and the coasts which are opposite to Celebes have been occupied by families of the Búgis from that island. The Malays predominate among these foreign nations in Borneo, where they have become, as in other islands of the Indian Archipelago, naturalised, and seem to have acquired a new home. Such was the state of Borneo, or rather of its maritime part, when it was discovered by Europeans. Various attempts have been made by the latter to found colonies or establish their power in Borneo, but these enterprises have obtained small success. The English made an attempt to establish themselves at Balambangan, an island situated at the north-eastern extremity of Borneo, in 1774, near Mallúdú Bay; and a considerable territory on the coast over which the Súloos claimed sovereignty was ceded to them. The Dutch formed settlements at a later time on the west coast at Pontianak, and afterwards on the south coast at Banjermassing; but neither the English nor the Dutch have obtained a permanent footing in Borneo.

It is believed that considerable parts of Borneo were formerly subject to the Javanese empire of Majopahit. At present the maritime countries where alone any degree of civilisation exists are subject to Malay rajahs. The principal of these is the rajah of Brunai or Borneo Proper, an extensive dominion on the north-west side of the island: on the sea-coast this kingdom is said to reach over seven hundred miles, extending a hundred miles into the interior. To the southward of Borneo Proper, on the western side, was the ancient state of Matan, founded by the Javanese, which had commercial transactions with the Dutch East India Company in the earliest periods of its existence. The capital of Matan is the city of Succadana, situated in the interior on the banks of the river Katappan. A part of the country subject to Matan has fallen, as it is said, under the later dominion of Pontianak, founded in 1770 by an Arab adventurer, aided by the influence of the Dutch. Pontianak has been the

principal state on the western side of Java. Several states or rajahships on the eastern side of the country are looked upon as owing a sort of homage to the sultan of Matan. Among them are Kotti, Passir, and Banjarmassing.*

Besides these foreigners from more civilised countries who have established themselves in Borneo, the coasts of that island afford a receptacle to various tribes of wandering fishermen or sea-gipsies, who roam about the shores. Their origin is little known, and they bear different names. The Lanuns are supposed to come from Magindano. The Orang Biajú and Orang Tedong live in small covered boats and enjoy a perpetual summer on the Indian Ocean, shifting to leeward from island to island with the variations of the monsoon. The Biajús on the north-west coast are more civilised than the rest. They are called by the Malays Orang Laut, or "Men of the Sea." They formerly supplied the English colony at Balambangan with rice, fowls, and other provisions.

The Orang Tedong or Tiroon are a savage people of the north-east coast, who fit out boats which trade among the Philippines: they live principally on sago, but are said occasionally to eat human flesh.

By these tribes on the sea-coast the aborigines of Borneo have been driven into the interior. Except on a few points, says Mr. Earle, where the Dayaks are seen on the rivers near the sea, they have been every where obliged to take refuge in the inland parts. The native inhabitants of this great island are perhaps the least known tribe of the human family. We have only heard of them by vague names, under which they are distinguished in the different parts of Borneo: whether these names belong to different tribes of the same race or to distinct nations we are uninformed, nor can we form an opinion founded on sufficient evidence as to the relations of the Bornean people to the natives of other lands. In the south and west the aboriginal tribes are termed Dayaks; in the north they have the name of Idaan. The Dusum and

* Account of Borneo collected from various quarters by MM. Rienzi and Dumont D'Urville. Oceanie de Rienzi. Voyage Pittoresque de M. D'Urville.

the Kayans are also savage tribes of the south, and are thought to be of the race of the Dayaks. By several writers it has been supposed that all these races are tribes of Haraforas or Alfourous, but this last name is itself used in a very indefinite sense, as we shall further take occasion to shew, and is thought by Mr. Earle to be applied by the Malays to all the savage races who live in the woods and are aliens from them and independent of their petty chiefs.

We are assured by Mr. Earle that the Dayaks are scattered in small tribes over the country. They are divided into petty hordes, wholly independent of each other except in some places near the large rivers, where they have more communication. In the forests their little communities are quite distinct. The various tribes are said to differ from each other; but Mr. Earle, who saw individuals of several distinct hordes, says that they might be recognised as the same people, having, however, a difference of dialect. "Those who live entirely on the water are much darker than the rest. They are of the middle size and remarkably straight and well formed. Their limbs are well rounded, and they appear to be muscular, but where physical strength is to be exerted in carrying burdens are far inferior to the more spare-bodied Chinese settlers. Their feet are short and broad, and their toes turn a little inwards, so that in walking they do not require a very wide path. Their foreheads are broad and flat, and their eyes, which are placed further apart than those of Europeans, appear longer than they really are from an indolent habit of keeping the eye half closed. The outer corners are generally higher up in the forehead than those nearer to the nose, so that the direction of the orbit deviates from an horizontal line. Their cheek-bones are prominent, but their faces are generally plump, and their features altogether resemble those of the Cochin Chinese more nearly than any other half-civilised nation of Eastern India. Their hair is straight and black. I never saw a nearer approach to a beard among the men than a few straggling hairs scattered over the chin and the upper lip."

"The physiognomy of the Dayaks is prepossessing. The countenance of the Dayak women, if not exactly beautiful,

is extremely interesting. In complexion they are much fairer than the Malays, and they are a people very superior to that nation, but differ not so much as to give the idea of a totally distinct race. They inhabit thatched bamboo houses erected upon piles. They cultivate rice in great quantities and make it their principal food."

"Those Dayaks who have not been converted to Islam believe in a future state: they pay some reverence to deer and to a black bird resembling a magpie, which is considered as an evil spirit."

"The Dayaks assert that some of the interior country is inhabited by a woolly-haired people."

The Dayaks appear from these statements to be a tribe bearing the type of the Indo-Chinese nations, but whether originally of the Malayan race or a distinct and separate stock, we have no information that enables us to determine.

The people termed Dayaks are confined to the eastern part of Borneo. The Kayans, who are said to be a tribe of Dayaks, are described as resembling the Malays, and as living on trees and eating their meat without cooking. They have been thought to resemble the Orang-Benua or the natives of the interior of Malacca.

Dr. Leyden says that the Idaan are sometimes termed Marút: he adds, "they are certainly the aboriginal people of Borneo, and resemble the Haraforas equally in stature, agility, colour, and manners. The latter are of lighter colour than the Mohammedan races. They are invariably rude and unlettered."

The most singular feature in the manners of these people is, according to Dr. Leyden, the necessity imposed upon every person of some time in his life imbruing his hands in human blood. No man is allowed to marry till he can show the skull of a man whom he has slaughtered. It is not requisite that this trophy should be obtained in battle. The hunter of heads often lies in ambush in the vicinity of another tribe till he can surprise some unsuspecting person, whose head is immediately chopped off. He then returns in triumph to his village, where he is joyfully received, and the head is hung up over his door. Heads are preserved with great care

and are sometimes consulted in divination. The most fortunate are those who can boast of having cut off the greatest number of heads.

The tribes of Tidong or Tirún, who live chiefly on the northern coast of Borneo, are reckoned a savage and piratical race, and addicted to eating the flesh of their enemies. Their language is said to be peculiar; but Dr. Leyden, who was unacquainted with them, conjectured these people to be tribes of Idaan.

The Biajús are said by Dr. Leyden to have a language of their own. It is reckoned original, but it has no written character. The Biajús, according to this writer, are of two races: the one is settled in Borneo, a rude but warlike and industrious nation, who reckon themselves the original possessors of the whole island. The other are a sort of sea-gipsies or itinerant fishermen, who live in small covered boats, and wander about the shores from one island to another. In some of their customs this singular race resemble the natives of the Maldivian islands. The Maldivians annually launch a small bark loaded with perfumes, gums, flowers, or odoriferous woods, and turn it adrift at the mercy of the winds and waves, as an offering to the spirit of the winds; and sometimes similar offerings are made to the spirit whom they term the *king of the sea*. In like manner the Biajús perform their offering to the god of evil, launching a small bark loaded with all the sins or misfortunes of the nation, which are imagined to fall on the unhappy crew that may be so unlucky as first to meet with the devoted bark.

The preceding paragraphs contain the sum of information that I have been enabled to collect from published books relative to the native inhabitants of Borneo. Since they were mostly written, Mr. Earle has returned from an exploring voyage, in the course of which he has spent several years in different parts of the Indian Archipelago, and he has obtained much new and valuable information respecting many of the islands and their inhabitants. I am indebted to him for communicating to me some more precise and accurate information respecting the natives of Borneo, of which the following is an abstract.

In the first place, it is ascertained that the interior of the island, or a part of it at least, is inhabited by a race of Negroes. Mr. Earle says that in 1834 the Dayaks described to him a people in the inland parts of the island, whom he concluded to be Papuas, but he only ventured to allude to their existence in Borneo as possible. "During the last year," he adds, "an English ship was lost on the east coast of Borneo, and a portion of the crew were detained for some months in the interior of the island. Among the aborigines who came to the Búgis settlement to see the strangers, were a party of men, who from the description given me by my informant, Captain Brownrig, (the commander of the "Premier," the wrecked vessel,) must have been pure Papuas. He particularly noticed that striking peculiarity of this race, the hair growing upon the head in small tufts separated from each other, which, when the hair is close cropped, give the head the appearance of an old shoe-brush. They had also raised cicatrices on their skin like those of the natives of Australia and New Guinea."

Mr. Earle supposes the Dayaks to be a branch of the Malayo-Polynesian family; and he considers all the inhabitants of the island, whatever variety of names are ascribed to different tribes, to be one race, exclusive of the Papuas in the interior and the casual settlements of foreigners on the coast. The following is Mr. Earle's account of these people.

"The aboriginal tribes of Borneo bear so close a resemblance to each other in personal appearance and mode of life, that they are generally considered by those who have had opportunities of seeing them at different points of the island as being one and the same people. Their dialects, no doubt, differ somewhat, but no tribe is known to have any peculiarity that could in the slightest degree lead to the supposition that it is a distinct people from the others. From this remark the Papuas are excluded, who cannot be very numerous. Each tribe has a distinctive appellation, but they have no general name among themselves comprehending the entire body of the nation. Strangers who have settled upon the coast of Borneo have given names to the tribes in their own vicinity. Thus the Malays who have settled on the western

coast, term the aborigines of the island 'Dayak.' The people of Borneo Proper again have given them the name of 'Marūt' or 'Morūt.' On the north-eastern coast, where the aborigines are under the influence of the people of Sūlū, they are called 'Idaan,' and in the south-eastern part of the island, about Banjar Massin, they are known by the name of 'Biajū,' and sometimes by that of 'Biajū Dayak.'"

If Mr. Earle's information is correct, which there is every reason to believe, one great point in the history of Borneo is determined, namely, that its inhabitants, the Papuas excepted, are all one race. This race is further proved to be of Malayo-Polynesian origin. He says:

"With respect to the origin of the Dayaks, I have never had the slightest doubt from the commencement of my intercourse with them that they are Polynesians. Unfortunately I was contented with satisfying my own doubts upon the subject without regarding those of others, and on discovering that the dialect of the Dayaks was decidedly Polynesian, I took no trouble to collect a vocabulary. There is, however, a vocabulary published in Mr. Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago, which affords a specimen of the language of the Dayaks. It occurs in the 125th and following pages of the second volume, where the words of this language there collated with others are termed Biajuk, which, as it appears from page 120, means Biajú Dayak. I do not know where Mr. Crawfurd procured this vocabulary, as I believe that he never was in Borneo. It was most probably at Macassar, where there are generally many slaves from the Dayak tribes about Banjar Massin, near the south-eastern extremity of Borneo."

Mr. Earle gives the following account of the names Dayak, Idaan, Biajú, which he considers as all belonging to one race.

"The Malays on the west coast of Borneo appear generally to consider the term 'Dayak' of purely Polynesian origin, and derived from 'daya,' 'deceitful,' or 'treacherous,' although those with whom I conversed on this subject allowed that this term was not generally applicable to the aborigines of the island. The word 'Dayak' is often used

by the Malays to designate a cutaneous disease to which the aborigines of Borneo are very liable, more so than any of the other Polynesian tribes whom I have encountered. I am of opinion that this is the origin of the term Dayak as applied to the aborigines of Borneo. Still it is possible that the word as applied to the disease may have originated from the national designation.

"'Idaan' or 'Idan' in the Javanese dialect of the Malayan language signifies 'foolish' or 'lightheaded.'

"'Biajú' is probably the same with 'Bajū' or 'Badjū' and 'Wajū,' which terms are applied to the neighbouring people of the opposite coast of Macassar in Celebes, and likewise to that singular people who live upon the sea in prahus, and whose chief resort is the eastern coast of Borneo and the opposite shores of Celebes. These last-mentioned people are commonly termed 'Badju Laut,' or 'Badju of the Sea.' The Wajū of Celebes are a more cultivated people than the Biajú of Borneo, and their civilisation seems to have been contemporaneous with that of the Búgis of Celebes, from whom it is impossible to distinguish them. At Singhapore the Waju people are generally called Būgis. Marsden says that they are called Tūwajū. I have not the slightest doubt that the Biaju or Bajū Dayaks, the Badjū or Baju Laut, the Waju or Tuwaju, and the Búgis or Ugi are one and the same people, with only that slight variation in manners which results from separation and intercourse with foreigners."

"Crawfurd's comparative vocabulary will show a very near approximation between the Biaju, Dayak, and the Malayan. The Malays of the southern extremity of the peninsula of Malacca are supposed to have been originally a tribe of Biajū Laut; and there are numerous traits of resemblance in customs and general character which confirm this tradition."

Physical Characters of the Dayaks.

"There is no peculiarity of personal appearance that serves readily to distinguish the Dayaks of the plain or level coun-

tries from the Malays or the Búgis. In their manners the Dayaks are more bashful and modest. The Dayaks of the interior, who inhabit a country comparatively cold owing to its great elevation, and approaching to the temperature of Europe, are a finer people, fatter and better formed, and fairer in complexion than the Búgis and Malays of the coast of Borneo and the neighbouring islands. Their hair is generally straight, though often curly or waving, and always long, and much care is bestowed upon it." Mr. Earle adds, "throughout the archipelago the mountain tribes of the Polynesian race are fairer than those of the plains. Thus while the Dayaks of the plains resemble the Malays and Búgis in their personal aspect, those of the interior have a strong resemblance to the mountain tribes of Menado and Celebes, to the people of Sumatra inland from Bencoolen, and to the natives of the Neas and Poggi islands near the west coast of Sumatra. I have already mentioned the resemblance that they bear to the fairest of the Timorians." Some of these last, as we shall find from Mr. Earle's account of them, have light or xanthous hair, like fair Europeans. Mr. Earle says that he has seen tattooed Dayaks, and that the Polynesian custom of tattooing the skin prevails among the Dayak tribes in the interior of Borneo. He has likewise been informed that it prevails among the maritime tribes of Celebes, though he has never seen any natives of that island so marked.

From these observations it seems evident that the people of Borneo who are called Dayaks are of the Malayo-Polynesian race. It is also probable that all the other native tribes of the same island, except the Papuas, whether termed Idaan, Marut, or Alforas, are of the same family with the Dayaks.

Section VI.—*Of the Ternatas and the Inhabitants of the Moluccas in general.*

In the most remote part of the Indian Archipelago towards the east is the groupe or rather the Archipelago of the

Moluccas. It is situated beyond the wide sea which lies to the eastward of Celebes, and which affords a free passage from Timor and the Sea of Banda on the south towards the entrance of the North Pacific. Situated under and nearly bisected by the equator, the Archipelago of the Moluccas forms a great amphitheatre of islands, which advances in front of the western horn of New Guinea or Papua, of which continent these islands may be looked upon as dissevered portions. Some of the Molucca islands are of great extent, surrounded by clusters of numerous smaller ones. The whole Archipelago is thus divided into several groupes. They are enumerated by geographers under the following sections.

1. Groupe of Gilolo or Moluccas properly so termed, subject before the conquests of the Dutch to the powerful sultans of Ternate, whose ancient capital was on the island of that name, remarkable for its high volcanic peak. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these chieftains are said to have extended their dominion over the whole Archipelago. Reduced to a state of vassalage, they still hold their court in a magnificent palace in the city of Ternate, and are sovereigns of a part of Gilolo and Mortay, and even of a part of Celebes. It is perhaps from this political ascendancy that the language of Ternate or the Tarnata speech is termed the language of the Moluccas, Ternate itself being a small island. Tidor is another small island, very populous, and the seat of a sultan who claims dominion over the Papua isles, a groupe near the coast of New Guinea, of which Salawatty and Waigiou, frequently mentioned by the navigators of these parts, are the principal islands. Many other islands belong to this groupe besides the larger one of Mortay or Morintay and Gilolo, by far the largest of all. Of this last some maritime districts are subject to the sultans of Tidor and Ternate, but the interior is governed by independent chieftains.*

* The islands to which the name of Moluccas originally belonged are only five in number, and are all situated near the west coast of the great island of Gilolo. They are all conical hills, producing cloves and spices. They were discovered in 1521 by the followers of Magalhaens after the death of their enterprising commander. Pigafetta, the narrator of the voyage, says that the Moors, meaning the Mohammedan Malays, had established themselves in

2. The Banda Isles are a more southerly groupe stretching down towards the Sea of Banda. To this division belong Banda and several small volcanic islands near it, agitated by frequent earthquakes. Further southward and in the Sea of Banda are the groupes of the Key Islands, that of Timor Laut, the Arru Islands, near New Guinea, and the Serwatty, near the eastern extremity of Timor. These have been included by some under the department of Banda Isles. They properly belong to the chain of which I shall give an account in the following section.

3. The Amboyna groupe takes its name from one of the smallest islands belonging to it. The largest are Ceram and Booroo. The smaller ones, Amboyna, Havoehs, Manipa, and Saparona, &c. are under the Dutch government. The population of these islands are subjected to the government of dependent chieftains, who are styled rajas or patis, or bear the Malayan title of Orang Kaijà.*

We have no precise information as to the inhabitants of these numerous islands. In the interior of all of them it is said that both Papuas and Alforas† coexist. Of these races we shall give some account in a following chapter. The trading communities of the sea-coast, governed by Mohammedan chieftains or sultans, are Malays from Menangkabao or from the peninsula. Besides these there are probably some barbarous inhabitants of the Malayo-Polynesian race, similar to the Búgis and Bisayan tribes of Celebes and the Philippines. One of the latter is apparently the tribe which gave its name to the Tarnata language. Captain Forrest declares that the inhabitants of the Moluccas are of two sorts; first, long-haired Moors or of a copper colour, and like the Malays in many respects; and, secondly, mop-headed Papuas in the inland parts. It seems that Dampier was unacquainted with the Tarnatas, and was not aware of the existence of any

these islands and at Gilolo fifty years before his voyage. Two Moorish kings or sultans governed them. There was also a pagan king termed Raja Papua in the interior. See Burney's Hist. of Discoveries in the South Seas, vol. i.

* Balbi, Précis de Géographie; Dumont D'Urville, Voy. Pittoresque.

† Dr. Leyden on the languages and literature of the Indo-Chinese nations. Asiat. Res. vol. x.

Malayo-Polynesian people in the Moluccas, except the Moors or Mohammedan Malays. Dr. Leyden mentions the Tarnata language as the vernacular speech of the Moluccas, and terms it an original tongue, but he seems to have possessed very little information respecting it.

SECTION VII.—*Islanders of the Timorian Chain.*

The term which I have here chosen may serve to designate the whole chain of islands, many of which are of considerable length from east to west, extending from the eastern extremity of Java nearly in a straight direction toward the western coast of New Guinea. In this number are comprehended, first, Sumbawa or the Sandal-wood Island, the long island of Ende, called Flores by Portuguese navigators. Ende is also termed Great Solor. To the east of it is the groupe of Little Solor, including Ombay and several other islands, and the great island of Timor facing that part of the north-western coast of Australasia termed De Witt's Land and Arnheim's Land. Timor might seem to be the last island in this chain, as it is by far the most extensive; but I shall comprehend in it, for reasons presently to be noticed, three other groupes which lie between Timor and the great south-western bay or circularly retiring coast of New Guinea. These are the groupe near Timor Laut, including the island so named, the Key Islands, and the Arru Islands near the Papuan coast.

The population of these islands seems to be composed of various tribes of the Malayo-Polynesian race in different stages of improvement, and of Papua tribes who inhabit some of the inland countries, and especially the southern parts. It is not unlikely that in some of these islands tribes related to the Australians may hereafter be found. Dr. Latham seems to have detected in the vocabulary of the Ombay islanders several words which resemble synonymous words in the Australian dialects; and the physical characters of the people, if we may form an opinion from a portrait given in Pérons' account of Captain Baudin's voyage, are not unlike those of the Australians.

In these islands several races and languages are distinguished.

1. Sumbawa. The western part of the Island of Sumbawa is inhabited by a race of people who speak a different language from that which prevails in the eastern part of the same island. This last is, 2, the Bima. It is spoken in the eastern part of Sumbawa and in the greater part of the island of Ende or Flores, which is subject to the sultan of Beima.

Dr. Leyden collected a vocabulary of these two languages, and collated them with the Búgis and Makasar of Celebes. There are many words common to all these four languages, and there seems to be no reason for doubt that the two former are, not less truly than the languages of Celebes, Malayo-Polynesian dialects. It may be observed that all these contain Sanskrit words.* Neither the Bima nor the Sumbawa people have any characters of their own: they use the alphabets of the Búgis and the Malays indifferently.†

3. Timorian.

Under this term I include all the tribes and languages found in the islands of the Timorian chain to the eastward of Savú. These islands were unknown in an ethnological point of view till the late voyage of Mr. Earle, who has collected a great mass of most interesting information respecting them and their inhabitants, with which he will ere long gratify the curiosity of the public. In the mean time he has favoured me by giving the following brief account, which must be interesting to all those who estimate the value of ethnographical information.

"The natives of Timor were those who first occupied my attention, and as I was enabled to pay annual visits to this and the neighbouring islands during six years, I have learned a great deal concerning them. The people of Timor, Savu, the Serwatty Islands, Timor Laut, and the Ki Islands are all

* The Makasar pronoun of the first person ego is *inukke*, a curious instance of resemblance to a Semitic language, with which the Makasar can have no connection.

† Dr. Leyden, ubi supra.

one race, speaking dialects of the same language. Of these I have rather a long vocabulary, viz. of the Kissa dialect (with which I have taken great pains, as I wish to present it as a specimen of this language), and smaller comparative vocabularies of about twenty other dialects spoken here and on the north of Australia. This race is evidently pure Polynesian, resembling very closely the brown race of the South Sea Islands in customs, language, and personal appearance. I think you will also be able to trace a very considerable resemblance to the people of Pulo Neas on the west coast of Sumatra, and to the Polynesians of Madagascar; and, upon the whole, it has struck me that these Timorians exhibit the state of the Polynesian race when it first established itself in the Indian Archipelago, and before it became intermixed with the Hindus and Arabians, as is the case in the Malay peninsula and some of the western islands of the Archipelago.

" As far as my observations extend, one general language prevails among the aboriginal tribes of the groupe of islands extending from Savū in the west to the Ki islands in the east, including Rotti, Timor, the Serwatty Islands, and Timor Laut. It also extends to at least a portion of Sūmbawa, or Sandalwood Island. A great variety of dialects exists, but I met with none that did not evidently belong to the same great family. There are, however, a few small tribes scattered about the interior of Timor, and of which I only met with some individual specimens, whose dialects may form an exception to this general rule. I do not here include the Arrū Islands, for *there*, I have no doubt, a considerable mixture of Papuan will be found, and in the *southern* part of this groupe I believe the *basis* of the language to be Papuan.

" As I could not go very deeply into all the dialects that I met with, I selected for examination one of the two spoken in the island of Kissa, chiefly from my having been a more frequent visitor to that island than to the others, and from the circumstance of my having had a very intelligent native of Kissa in my service during several years, which enabled me to become more familiar with it than with the others. With respect to this dialect, I have no doubt that the basis is Polynesian. A few apparently Papuan words may possibly

have crept in, and I have certainly met with many that are common to the Timorians and to the natives of the west and north coasts of New Guinea, but these have been almost invariably pure Polynesian, and had probably been adopted by the Papuas from the people of the Moluccas and Celebes, who have had intercourse with them for centuries.

" In point of *sound*, the Kissa dialect certainly differs from some of the smoother dialects of the Polynesians, which at first led me to believe that I had stumbled upon a new language: but I soon found that this peculiarity was entirely owing to a guttural (h) having been substituted for the letter ' s,'—' k ' for ' t,' and ' w ' for ' b.'* The nasal ' ng ' is also generally rejected. Thus the Bughis ' tasei ' becomes ' kahei ' (the sea). The Bughis language, indeed, is, of all those of the Indian Archipelago with which I am at all acquainted, the one that most closely resembles this Kissa dialect. I will give a few specimens of the substitution of words which I have mentioned above.

Bughis.	*Kissa.*	
bahtu	wahku	stone
beret	werek	heavy
ati	akin	heart
mati	maki	dead
ata	ahka	slave
ūbi	ūwi	yam
būlū	wūlū	feather
hūsū	hūhū	milk
keres	kereh	hard

The Polynesian *nūsa*, land or island, becomes in the Kissa dialect nohé and noha. Hence possibly whenūa, fenūa, benūa, &c.

" I could multiply instances, but I dare say you will consider these as sufficient.

" Although many, perhaps the greater number, of the words contained in this language appear to end in a consonant, and are pronounced so if spoken singly, yet in conver-

* These are very remarkable coincidences with the mutation of consonants, of which I have pointed out many examples in European and Asiatic families of languages.

sation a vowel is generally added as a terminal: for instance, of the words quoted above, 'akin' would become 'akini.' The Kissa people, and the Timorians generally, appear to have a great dislike to the letter 's,' which is rarely used, although they *can* pronounce it, which is not the case with the northern Australians.

"The structure of the language closely resembles that of the Bughis; indeed I look upon them as dialects of the same language: it also accords with the Malayan, and a Timorian acquires both these languages with great readiness, and pronounces *every* word with the most perfect accuracy.

	do not	*angry*	*with*	*me.*	
Kissa,	johon	mahan	ma	yahū	Do not be angry with me.
Malayan,	jangan	mara	zama	aku	
	you	*please*	*receive this*		
Kissa,	oho	ra'amnodi	kakàal éniéni		Will you receive this?
Malay,	angkau	saka	tarima ini		
	people	*how many*	*have*	*village.*	
Kissa,	ria	woira	àil	lekin	How many people are there in the village?
Malayan,	orang	brapa	ada	di-negri	

"In the names of natural productions, this dialect bears a close resemblance to that of Tahiti. I may instance 'ārū,' bread-fruit; 'oho,' the bamboo; 'neno,' the *morinda cetrifolia* (used as a dye-wood); 'tapi,' cloth.

"*Physical characters of these races distinctly.*

"With respect to the personal appearance of these people, I may state as a general rule that individuals from the islands of this groupe, if met with in Java, Celebes, or the Moluccas, and clad in the costume of the natives of those places, would not attract any particular attention as differing from others. I have seen this strongly exemplified in cases where people of all these islands have been mixed together, as in some native regiments in the Dutch service, and among the convicts at Banda. There *are* exceptions, and these I will proceed to notice. 1st. Some of the tribes inhabiting the elevated table-land in the interior of Timor, near the north-eastern extremity of that island, and many individuals in the Serwatty Islands, Timor Laut, and the Ki Islands, are fairer

in complexion than the natives of the Archipelago generally, but not more so than some of the Dayak tribes of Borneo, and the mountaineers about Menado on the north-east end of Celebes.* 2. Many individuals in *Timor*, especially about Coepang, have curly hair, which, however, grows to a considerable length. The men tie it up in a bunch on the crown of the head, allowing the ends to straggle down the back, and as they do not take much care of it, it appears more coarse and rough than it really is. These people may possibly have a slight cross of the Papuan. 3d. On the south coast of Timor there are also some tribes who possess very strong characteristics of the Papua, and who, I have no doubt, are a mixed race. Their complexion is dark, indeed almost black, and they have coarse bushy hair. They are an inferior race, much oppressed by the other tribes, and great numbers of them are kidnapped to serve as slaves. I have not personally visited these tribes, but I have seen many individuals belonging to them on the north-west coast of the island. I never met with one whom I could pronounce a *pure* Papua; but from the information I received from different quarters, I think it probable that a few small scattered tribes of that people may exist among the fastnesses in the mountains.

"I met with no tribes of this mixed race upon any of the islands extending from Timor to the Ki groupe except upon the south side of Moa, one of the Serwatty islands. The coarse bushy hair of the natives there, their dark complexion, and that peculiar muddy appearance of what *should* be the white of the eye, which forms the distinguishing characteristics of all those tribes that have a tinge of Papuan blood in their veins, had attracted my notice when I first visited Moa, and I subsequently discovered that they had originally migrated from the south side of Timor. They are an inferior race, and are much oppressed by their Polynesian neighbours on

* Notwithstanding this general observation, Mr. Earle informs me, that there is a village near the north-eastern extremity of Timor, where the people are more fair than the Polynesian tribes in general. Some of these have red hair, of which Mr. Earle has given me a specimen.

the Island of Letti. Still the basis of their language and customs is decidedly Polynesian, although they have peculiarities in both, which, I have no doubt, are of Papuan origin.

"I discovered among the Timorians many of the traits and customs of the Dayak tribes of Borneo, which, in addition to a rather close resemblance in personal appearance, leads me to believe that they must have had the same origin. I have no reason for supposing that the Timorians ever go to war for the sole purpose of obtaining human heads; but those of their enemies slain in battle are retained as trophies, and the defeated party, if not too closely pressed, themselves cut off the heads of their dead and wounded companions, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the conquerors. I am now alluding more particularly to the natives of *Timor*. Human sacrifice is also common throughout Timor, and it is still continued by the natives of Sermattan, one of the Serwatty Islands, and *probably* by those of Timor Laut and Baha; but with respect to the natives of Sermattan, I can speak with confidence from circumstances that occurred while I was present at these islands, and I should not like to accuse any people of this practice upon mere report. That singular Dayak instrument, the sampit-an, a long tube through which small darts are projected by the breath, is common among the Timorians; and they are also subject to that singular disease of the skin called 'dayak' by the Malays—hence the name applied to the aborigines of Borneo—which gives it a white and leprous appearance. The custom of tattooing the skin, which is practised among some of the Dayak tribes, is not, as far as I am aware, common among the Timorians. I have certainly seen individuals marked in this manner on the face and body; but these were generally slaves, and I suspect that it had been done by their owners for the purpose of distinguishing them in case they should escape.

"At Kissa I found that a distinction of caste existed, and I have little doubt but that it extends throughout these groupes. The chief caste is the Marna. The chiefs and priests are invariably selected from this caste, and if it becomes extinct in any particular tribe, the chief authority is given to a Marna of some neighbouring state in which the caste happens to be

more numerous. The second caste is the ūhūr or proprietor class, a numerous and influential body in general. Individuals of these castes do occasionally intermarry, but the offspring is not admitted into the superior caste, that is to say, not *generally*, for I did hear of an instance to the contrary, but under very peculiar circumstances. The third caste is the *ahha* or serf; the *ata* of the Bughis, and probably the *tang'ata* or ta'ata of the South Sea Islands."

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CHAPTER V.

OF THE POLYNESIAN NATIONS PROPERLY SO TERMED, OR THE ISLANDERS OF EASTERN OCEANICA.

SECTION I.—*General Remarks.*

THE Polynesian nations properly so termed are those tribes of the great Malayo-Polynesian family who inhabit the different groupes of islands spread through the Pacific Ocean. These nations, though differing considerably from each other in dialect, especially in distant islands where the several tribes of people appear to have been long separated, may be said for the most part to speak one language, since with few exceptions they mutually understand each other with little difficulty. The extent of the region belonging to the proper Polynesian tribes, and designated by late writers as Eastern or Oceanic Polynesia, may be thus defined. The Tongan and the Fijian or Vitian Archipelago are its western departments in the Great Ocean: thence it reaches eastward across the whole breadth of the Pacific, wherever islands exist inhabited by tribes of the same race. To the northward of the Vitian and the Tongan groupes are the different clusters of islands inhabited by tribes of a kindred race, who will be described under the name of the Micronesian Islanders. To the westward of the Vitian groupe a vast amphitheatre of islands reaching southward from the eastern extremity of New Britain, a part of Papua-land, and facing the wide spaces of the Eastern Pacific, under the names of Solomon's Archipelago and the New Hebrides, forms the great boundary between Eastern Polynesia and the less explored region, which will be hereafter described, of Oceanic Negroland. The inhabitants of

the islands and continents comprehended under this last name are for the most part black or nearly black, more barbarous in their manners, and differing in language from the Polynesians.

I now proceed to the different branches of the Polynesian race.

SECTION II.—*The Tongan Islanders.*

The groupe or archipelago of the Tongan Isles, so termed by modern navigators, comprises, according to the most accurate accounts, six islands, of which the population is as follows:—*

Eooa	200
Hapai	4000
Vavao	4000
Keppel's Island	1000
Boscawen's Island	1300
Tonga or Tonga-tabú	8000
Total	18,500

The present number in Tonga is said to be encreased by 1000. About 4500 of the natives are Christians.

These islands are termed sometimes the Hapai Islands from one member of the groupe. Captain Cook called them Friendly Islands. The prevailing name is that of the principal island, Tonga-tabú or the Sacred Tonga, which is held in a sort of veneration by the Tongan race as containing the sepulchres of their forefathers, and as the residence of their chieftains or princes.

The language of the Tonga islanders makes,—we have repeated the observation of Humboldt,—a certain approach towards the character of the western idioms of this stock. It recedes from the forms of the three other principal dialects, and has some characteristics in common with the Malayan which are not found in the idioms of New Zealand or in the Tahitian or Hawaiian. These differences consist chiefly in the preference of certain consonants. The Tongan, however, agrees with the

* I take this statement from the United States' Exploring Voyage. The writer professes to obtain his information from the missionaries in the islands.

other Polynesian languages in one great character, viz. the rejection of consonants from the ends of words, which consonants terminate words and syllables in the western Malayan languages. The following instances are given by Humboldt:—*manu*, bird, N. Zealand, Tahit.—Tong.—is *manuk* in the Javan: *manu*, however, occurs in the Búgis: *rai*, sky, Tahit.—*rangi*, N. Z.—*langi*, Tong.—*langit*, Tagala—*lanitra*, *lanhits*, *langhitsi*, — in Malecassian dialects: *namu*, fly, Tong.—*niamok*, Malay: *tai*, lake, N. Z. and Tahit.—*tasik*, Kawi: *foa*, *burst*, *break*, Tong.—*folac*, *foulac*, Malecass.: *tangi*, cry, weep, Tong. and N. Z.—*tangis*, Tag.:—*tui*, mark, write, N. Zeal.—*tohi*, Tong.—*tulis*, Tag.*

Mr. Mariner, who resided many years among the Tongan islanders before their habits were modified by intercourse with Europeans and by the instruction of missionaries, has given the following account of the mythology and traditions of the people, which tends to illustrate the character of the Polynesian race.

The Tongan people have an ancient tradition which seems to record an obscure recollection of their arrival at their present abode, and of the direction in which they must in all probability have come. It contains a fable as to the origin of the Island of Tonga, which, when we take into the account the real geological formation of coral islands, elevated from the ocean as they are supposed to have been by volcanic force, is so much the more remarkable. In the first place they have an earthly mansion of the gods, not, like Olympus or Mount Alborj, or Maha Meru, a lofty summit, for high mountains were unknown to the natives of Tonga-tabú. The divine region of these natives of the ocean is a beautiful island situated far to the north-eastward of their own land, ever blooming with the most beautiful flowers, which fill the air with fragrant and delightful odours, and bear the richest and most delicious fruits. When these are plucked, the same immortal plants bring forth others to replace them. Birds of the most splendid plumage fill the groves of this enchanted land, where there are also abundance of hogs to supply the

* Humboldt's Kawi-Sprache, Th. 2. p. 304.

tables of the Hotúas or gods and demigods; and when for this purpose either a bird or a hog is killed, another immediately comes into existence to supply its place. This island of Bolotú, as it is named, is so far distant from Tonga that the voyage would be dangerous for canoes, and these would be sure to miss it unless it were decreed otherwise by the particular determination of the gods. There is, indeed, a myth that in times long past the crew of a canoe returning from Figi and driven by stress of weather, in extreme want descried an unknown land. Seeing the country rich with all sorts of esculent plants, they landed and began to pluck some bread-fruit, but were astonished to find that they laid hold on a mere shadow: they walked through the trunks of trees and the walls of houses, which were built like those of Tonga, without feeling any resisting substance. "At length they saw some of the Hotooas, but found that their bodies were unsubstantial forms. The Hotooas recommended them to depart immediately, and promised fair winds and a speedy course. Accordingly prosperous gales impelled them with wonderful celerity, and in the space of two days they arrived at Hamoa or the Navigators' Isles, where they touched and afterwards reached Tonga with great speed. In a few days they all died, which was the natural consequence of their having breathed the air of Bolotoo."

The Hotúas or divine beings who dwell at Bolotú are divided into several classes, as follows:—

1. The original gods.
2. The souls of nobles, or Egi, as they are termed at Tonga.
3. The souls of Mataboulais or patricians.
4. The subordinates or servants of the gods.
5. The Hotooa Pow or mischievous imps.
6. The Múoi—Mawí?—or the god that supports the earth, who does not belong to Bolotú. Muoi is a very gigantic being: on his prostrate body the earth lies. He gives rise to earthquakes by occasionally turning or moving his limbs.

The first class, of which there are perhaps about three hundred, are the most powerful. About twenty of these Hotooas are distinguished by names and attributes, and have temples or houses dedicated to them. Of these the most

powerful is Táli-y-Toobó (literally, "Wait there, Toobó"). He is the patron of the How or king, and is the god of war. He has no priest but the king.—2. Toói-fooa Bolotoo, or Chief of all Bolotú. He is inferior to Táli-y-Toobó; has three or four priests, whom he occasionally inspires.—3. Higooléo, principally venerated by the Tooi-tonga's family.—4. Toobo-Toty, or Toobo the mariner, the god of voyages.—5. Alai-Valoo, often consulted on behalf of sick persons.—6. Alo-Alo, i. e. "to fan," the god of wind, weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation.—7. Tooi Bolotoo, chief of Bolotoo.—8. Hala Apo Api.—9. Togi-Ogaméa,—and 10. Toobo Boogoo. All these are minor gods of the sea and of voyages. 11. Tangaloa, or god of artificers, the Tongan Mercury.

Next in dignity to these original Hotooas or gods, are the Hotooas which were souls of the Egi or nobles. These as well as the preceding have the power of inspiring priests, and of appearing to their friends in dreams and visions. They have no temples or consecrated houses, but are invoked at the graves or sepulchres of the dead.

The souls of Mataboulais come next in rank. They have no power of inspiring priests, but are the tutelar gods of their relatives, to whom they appear in a visible form.

Hotooa Pow, or mischievous gods, of whom there are several, are a sort of goblins who plague men in various ways, like the imps of vulgar belief in all countries.

We now come to the mythos which relates to the origin of known and habitable lands. According to the Tongan mythology, the gods, the ocean, Bolotoo, and the heavenly bodies, had always existed. Nought else was to be seen above the level of the sea. The god Tangaloa* went out to fish, and having let down from the sky his hook and line, he caught something of immense weight, and which resisted his efforts to raise it. Believing that he had hooked an immense

* According to the narrator of the exploring voyage lately sent out from the United States, who derived their account from missionaries in the Tonga Islands, the god who drew up the island of Tonga was not Tangaloa but Maui. He says: "They call the oldest god Maui, and say that he drew the world or islands out of the sea with a hook and line. Tangaloa in this representation is but a second god."

fish he exerted all his strength, and presently there appeared above the surface points of rock, which increased in number and extent. The line broke just as the god had succeeded in raising the islands of Tonga above the level of the ocean. The rock on which his hook stuck is still to be seen in the island of Hoonga, with the hole in which it caught, and the hook was in the possession of the Túitonga family till it was some time since accidentally destroyed.

Tangaloa having raised the groupe of islands above the sea, next filled them with fruit and animals like those of Bolotu, but perishable and of inferior quality. He sent his two sons, Toobó and Váca-ácow-ooli,* with their wives, to people it. Váca-acow-ooli was wise and virtuous; Toobó idle and depraved. Envying the prosperity of his brother, Toobó at length killed him. Tangaloa, enraged at this, sent Váca-ácow-ooli and his family with prosperous gales to an eastern land, where they became ancestors of the Papalangi† or White People. The descendants of Toobó were condemned to be black because their hearts were bad: they remained at Tonga, and are the present race of inhabitants.

Many suspicions suggest themselves against the authenticity of this story;‡ but the oldest men at Tonga declared

* The Tahitians had traditions and customs of a precisely similar character. They derive the origin of the human race from the gods, and place the primitive abode of the gods in a distant region towards the north-west. This points to Asia and to Mount Meru of the Hindoos. Humboldt, Th. 2, S. 456.

† The origin of this word Papalangi is unknown. Both Humboldt and his editor Buschmann regard it as a genuine old Tongan word, and not as a mere modern expression invented as a name for Europeans, since they have found their way to Tonga. They refer its probable origin to the obselete language.

‡ Mariner suspected at first that it was a story founded on a confused recollection of what some missionaries may have told these people from the Bible, and of the history of Cain and Abel. But it may have been a native legend, and this is the more likely from the local congruity and apparently indigenous origin of the story of Tangaloa and his fishing up the Tonga Islands.

Humboldt thinks the resemblance of this tradition with the Mosaic account of Cain and Abel the more curious as in nearly all regions of the world similar primitive legends are found, as the tradition of a first pair, and that of a general deluge, traced in the Sandwich Islands, and of the escape

their belief that it is a genuine and ancient tradition of their race. This question has been discussed by M. de Humboldt, who came to the conclusion that it is authentic. In referring to the story of a distant land whence white men came to visit Tonga from the east, he alludes to similar traditions prevalent among the native Americans, and which, as he was persuaded, could be traced from times anterior to the arrival of the Spaniards.* A more suitable occasion for considering these stories will occur when we come to the history of the American nations.†

The mythological stories which we have noticed have taken a deep hold on the mind of the Tonga people, and are interwoven even with their civil institutions and the division of ranks in their community. It is remarkable that so uncultivated a race as the Tongan islanders should have adopted customs which are complex and artificial, and seem to be founded in metaphysical principles unlike the simplicity of a semi-barbarous people.

The people of the Tongan islands are divided into different classes, and the rank in the state, or the degree of respect to which each individual is entitled, is determined by circumstances connected with mythology. The king is by no means the first person in this point of view, but must yield the respect due to a higher rank when he comes into the presence of priests inspired by the gods, and of certain individuals who are supposed to be descended from the principal Hotúas.

The heads of two families are termed Tooitonga and Veachi. They are both acknowledged to be descendants of chief gods who formerly visited the island of Tonga; but whether their mothers were goddesses or native women is

of a few, recurring nearly in the same form. (Forster, 551; Chamisso, in Kotzebue, Th. 3, S. 148; Humboldt, S. 449.) In Owaha Kotzebue found in the enclosure of a temple a female and a male statue, the former of which, turned towards the latter, lays hold of the fruit of a banana hanging on a stake between them, which the male figure holds out his hand to receive.—A representation which recals the history of Adam and Eve in Paradise.—Kotzebue's Entdeckungsreise; Humboldt, K. S. 449.

* Humboldt, Kawi Sprache, p. 454.

† Humboldt, 450.

undecided. The name Tooitonga means the *Chief of Tonga.* Tonga is the most noble of all the islands; there from time immemorial the greatest nobles reside, and there are the tombs of their ancestors: it is looked upon as a sort of metropolis, and is, moreover, sacred, and as such termed Tonga-tabú. If the king meets any chief related to the Tooitonga or Veachi he is obliged to sit down, which is the token of inferiority observed by common persons towards any nobleman superior to themselves. There are many ceremonies indicating the high respect claimed by the Tooitonga, as the grand annual offering to him of first fruits, termed *Inachi,* the neglect of which would excite the vengeance of the gods. This high dignity is connected with the belief of the divine origin of the Tooitonga. The ecclesiastical dignity is opposed by worldly power in Tonga as elsewhere. According to Mr. Mariner, King Finow, on the death of an old Tooitonga, ordered that his son should not succeed him, and that the title should be abolished. Whether this instance of lay usurpation has ultimately succeeded we have no information. Tooitonga is exempt from circumcision, which all other men undergo. He is likewise never tattooed.

Priests, or Fahe-gehe, i. e. distinct or separate, are supposed to have a distinct sort of mind or soul, which disposes some god occasionally to inspire them; while inspired, the priest is looked upon as the god himself.

The How or king is an arbitrary chief, deriving his right in part from hereditary succession, and in part from military skill.

The Egi or nobles are said to derive their dignity from being related to the family of some of the high-born persons above-mentioned.

The Mataboulais or councillors are the next rank in the state. They are a sort of patricians. Their rank is from inheritance, and all inheritance is on the female line. The son is not called a Mataboul till his father's death.

Mooas are the class below Mataboulais, and Mataboulais are Mooas till they become inherited.

Tooas are the lowest class; they are the bulk of the people or the peasantry. They, as well as the Mooas, live by their manual labour, exercise arts and trades, and cultivate the ground.

The Egi and Mataboulais are supposed to be of a different nature from the Tooas, inasmuch as they have immortal souls, which after the death of the body go to Bolotoo and become Hotooas. The Tooas generally believe that they shall become entirely extinct at death.

The souls of the higher class become Hotooas and go to Bolotoo, where they live for ever in a state of happiness in forms resembling the human, and holding the same rank and subject to the same propensities as during life, but with greater wisdom and virtue. The only punishment of crimes is believed to be inflicted during the present life. They firmly believe that the gods approve of virtue, and are displeased with vice, and that every man has a tutelar deity who will protect him if he acts virtuously, but if he does not will leave him to become the victim of disease and misfortune. They mark a clear distinction between virtue and vice, and in the opinion of Mr. Mariner, many instances of noble and disinterested conduct and of high moral virtue are displayed by the Tongan Islanders to those who are well acquainted with the lives and history of individuals.

The moral character of the Tongans is very similar to that of the other Polynesian nations, who will be further described in the following pages. They appear to be among the most advanced in arts and civilisation. A proof of intellectual superiority is their having terms expressive of numbers as far as a hundred thousand. The Australian, as we shall find, cannot count ten, or scarcely five. One custom is common to the Tongans and Australians: it is that of cutting off a joint of the little finger and sometimes of the finger next to it. This operation is only performed on females among the Australians.

These people seldom exceed the common stature, though some are above six feet; but are strong and have stout limbs. "They are generally broad about the shoulders, and have a muscular appearance, which has rather the character of strength than of beauty. They are not subject to the corpulence and general obesity which is common in Otaheite." "Their features," says Mr. Anderson, "are very various; insomuch that it is scarcely possible to fix on any general

likeness by which to characterise them, unless it be a fulness at the point of the nose, which is very common. But on the other hand, we meet with hundreds of European faces, and many genuine Roman noses among them." "Few of them have any uncommon thickness of the lips." "The women have less of the appearance of feminine delicacy than those of most other nations."

"The general colour is a cast deeper than the copper brown; but several of the men and women have a true olive complexion, and some of the last are even a great deal fairer." This, as we are told, is the case principally among the better classes, who are least exposed to the sun. Among the bulk of the people the skin is more commonly of a dark hue, with some degree of roughness. There are some albinos among them."*

"Their hair is in general straight, thick, and strong, though a few have it bushy and frizzled. The natural colour, I believe almost without exception, is black; but some stain it brown, purple, or of an orange cast." In this custom they resemble the islanders to the northward of the New Hebrides.†

Captain Willis says that the Tongans are a little lighter in colour than the Samoans, and that the young children are almost if not quite white. He adds that the adults are tall and well made: their countenances are generally of the European cast: they are a shade lighter than any of the other islanders.‡

SECTION III.—*The Tahitian Branch of the Polynesian Stock.*

The Tahitian branch of the Polynesian stock comprehends not only the inhabitants of the island of Tahiti or Otaheite, but likewise all the natives of the adjoining groupe called by Captain Cook the Society Islands, who speak the language of Tahiti.

* Capt. Cook's Voyage, in Hawkesworth; Forster's Observations.

† Ibid. ‡ Exploring Expedition, vol. iii., p. 25.

The island of Tahiti is supposed to have been discovered by Quiros, and to have been named by that navigator "La Sagittaria." It was revisited by Captain Wallis or discovered for a second time in 1767. The six islands named Ulietea, Otahà, Bolabola, Huaheine, Tabai, and Maurua, which are near to Otaheite and inhabited by the same race, were found by Cook in 1769, and this groupe received from him the name of the Society Islands. It comprehends likewise some other small islands.

The people of Tahiti, like the natives of Tonga, are divided into several classes. There are three ranks in the community as at Tonga. The Erees or Tiraras are a noble caste; they possess land, which is cultivated for them by the Toutous or the working class. The Toutous are subjected to a sort of vassalage or feudal obedience. Besides these there is an intermediate class termed in Tahiti Manahounes, corresponding with the Mataboulais of the Tonga islanders. They are independent possessors of land, which they cultivate with their own hands. The origin of this division of ranks is unknown; it has been supposed to be the result of conquest, and the Erees to be a different race from the Toutous; but this conjecture has been disapproved, as we shall perceive, by the best informed persons. It has received no confirmation from the traditions of the islanders, and is discountenanced by an extensive observation of facts.

The Tahitian people, like other tribes of the Polynesian Islands, have traditional stories of their origin. These legends have been collected by Mr. Ellis, one of the most intelligent of the missionaries who have devoted themselves with success unparallelled in later times to the conversion of these barbarous races to Christianity and civilisation. As such traditions are the only sources of history that exist in the want of written documents, and as they are calculated to throw some light on the relations of different tribes to each other, it will be worth while to pay some attention to them.

The tradition of this tribe, like the myths of all Pagan nations, represents the first men, not as created by God, but as produced in the way of generation from the invisible beings who are supposed to have pre-existed. The island of Raiatea,

which is looked upon by the Tahitians as a sort of sacred land or paradise, was the scene of the first incarnation of the Tii (Dii) or spirits who had there immemorially dwelt. *Tii Maaraauta*, or "the spirit reaching towards the land," and *Tii Maaraatai*, "the spirit spreading towards the sea," or the genii of earth and ocean, were the first of these invisible beings who obtained bodies and begot the human race. They settled at Opoa, a plain in Raiatea, and after peopling that island spread their family over the rest of the archipelago. Others say that Tii was not properly a spirit, but the first man made by the gods, and that his wife was sometimes called Tii and at others Hina; and that their spirits surviving the dissolution of the body were still called Tii, and were worshipped as the ghosts of the departed till idolatry was abolished at Tahiti. Mr. Ellis observes that in the Ladrones prayers were offered to Aniti, who, like the Tii, were regarded both as the *manes* of the dead and as a sort of inferior divinities.

The maker of the world is called by the Tahitians Taaroa, which seems to be only a dialectic modification of Tangaloa, the name of the Tongan god, who fished up the islands from the sea. Taaroa is sometimes said to have worked so hard in making the land that his perspiration ran down in salt streams and formed the sea. But he is by others believed to have descended like Jupiter the Æther, and to have rendered the earth pregnant, whence the heavenly bodies and all visible objects had their commencement of existence, as well as Tii and Operoa, a son and daughter, who were the ancestors of the human race.

The Tahitian cosmogony is related in a more circumstantial manner by Mr. Ellis from the account given by Mr. Barff, whom Ellis describes as deeply versed in the mythology of the South Sea Islanders. According to this relation *Man* was the fifth order of intelligent beings produced by Taaroa and Hina, of whom an account will hereafter be given. The human race was called *Rahu taata i te ao ia Tii*, "the class or order of the world by Tii." Hina said to Taaroa, "What shall be done? how shall man be obtained?" Taaroa answered, "Go on to the shore to the interior, to your brother."

Hina answered, "I have been inland, and he is not." Taaroa then said, "Go to the sea, perhaps he is on the sea." When the goddess had departed, Taaroa ruminated within himself as to the means by which man should be formed, and went to the land, where he assumed the appearance of man. Hina, entering from her unsuccessful search for Tiimaaraatai at sea, met him, but not knowing him said, "Who are you?"—"I am Tiimaaraatai," he replied.—"Where have you been?" said the goddess; "I have sought for you here, and you were not. I went to the sea to look for Tiimaaraatai, and he was not."—"I have been here in my house or abode," answered Tiimaaraatai, "and behold, you have arrived; my sister, come to me." They became man and wife, and the son that Hina afterwards bore was called Tii. He was the first-born of mankind. Afterwards Hina had a daughter who was called Hinaereeremonoi: she became the wife of Tii, and bore to him a son, who was called Taata, the general name, with slight modification, for man throughout the Pacific. They were the progenitors of the human race. Another tradition stated that the first inhabitants of the South Sea Islands originally came from a country in the direction of the setting [illegible] which they say several names were given, though none [illegible] re remembered by the present inhabitants.

[illegible] ely connected with these mythological notions are [illegible] ms of the Tahitians in funeral ceremonies and all [illegible] tes to the disposal of the dead. The following [illegible] ollected from Forster and Anderson, the companions of Captain Cook, will sufficiently point out this relation.

Spiritual beings, who are very numerous, are by the Tahitians called Eatooas. The first Eatooa was the father of all the rest. His wife was Tupapa, the Materia Prima. Their offspring are gods or genii, who made and preside over the sun, the moon, and various departments of nature. Two of these Eatooas were the parents of mankind. The soul of man, or that which feels and thinks, is also an Eatooa, and after death issues from the lips and hovers round the corpse or the morai where it is deposited, and after a time takes its abode in a certain wooden image, of which there are many fixed up around the places of interment. These are termed

Tahees, or receptacles of the invisible Tahees or souls. "The body is at first laid in a house constructed for the purpose, and after the flesh has rotted away the bones are buried. After a time, not definitely fixed, the souls of persons of rank, or chiefs, ascend to heaven, to the region of the superior gods. There, according to some statements, they are to be absorbed into the essence of the chief deity, or eaten by him, as the Tahitians express it. The fate of the soul after death has no dependence on the conduct of the individual; the souls of bad and good men fare alike; yet there is a notion that the gods watch over human actions and punish the wicked; but the fears of the guilty have respect to some immediate vengeance of the offended god."

The Tahitians as well as many other Polynesian tribes held in veneration a mythical personage named Maui, a sort of Prometheus of the South Sea. Maui is a prophet or sometimes a guardian genius. One of the most celebrated persons who bore this name "resided at Raiatea, and foretold that in future ages a *vaa ama ore*, literally an 'outriggerless canoe,' would arrive in the island from some foreign land. Accustomed as they were to consider an outrigger essential to a canoe, they charged the prophet with foretelling an impossibility. He persisted, however, in his predictions, and in order to remove their scepticism as to its practicability, launched his *umete*, or oval wooden dish, upon the water; and declared that the strange vessel would swim in the same manner.

"The period when this prediction was delivered is unknown. It had been handed down by oral tradition until the time of Captain Willis' and Captain Cook's arrival. The natives at first supposed their ships to be islands, inhabited by supernatural beings, who directed the thunder and lightning at their will. But when, on a nearer inspection, they discovered them to be floating fabrics of timber, borne on by the winds and waves, they unanimously exclaimed that the prediction of Maui was accomplished, and that the canoes without outriggers were arrived. They were confirmed in their interpretation, by seeing the small boats, approaching their own canoes in size, proceeding in safety from the ships to the shore.

" I have often heard the natives exclaim, while watching a vessel sailing in or out of the harbour, *Te vaa a Maui e! Ta vaa ama ore,* ' Oh the canoe of Maui ! The outrigger-less canoe.' "

" Like most other nations, they have their tradition of an universal deluge. In the principal facts these traditions are the same in the different groupes of islands, but they differ in several particulars. The Tahitian story is, that Taaroa, being angry with men on account of their disobedience, overturned the world into the sea, excepting a few projecting points, or *aurus,* which constituted the present cluster of islands. The tradition among the inhabitants of Eimeo is that after the flood a man landed from a canoe near Tiataepua, in their island, and built an altar, or *marae,* in honour of his god.

" The tradition in the Leeward Islands is much the same with that of Raiatea. Soon after the peopling of the world by the descendants of Taata, *Ruahatu,* the Neptune of the South Sea Islanders, was reposing in his coralline groves in the depths of the ocean. A fisherman, regardless of the *tabú,* and sacredness of the place, lowered his hooks, which became entangled in the hair of the sleeping god. For a long time he strove in vain to draw them up again; and at last the god, roused from his slumbers, appeared at the surface, upbraided him for his impiety, and declared that the land should be destroyed for the sin. The affrighted fisherman implored forgiveness, and Ruahatu, moved by his prayers, directed him to proceed with his wife and child to a small island called Toa-marama, which is situated within the reefs on the eastern side of Raiatea, where he might find a safe refuge. The man obeyed, and took with him to the place appointed, not only his wife and child, but, as some say, a friend also, and a dog, pig, and a pair of fowls. They reached the refuge before the close of the day, when the waters began to rise, drove the inhabitants of the shores from their dwellings, and gradually increased, till in the morning only the tops of the mountains appeared; these were afterwards covered, and all the people perished. When they had subsided, the fisherman and his family took up their abode on the main land, and became the progenitors of the present inhabitants."

The priesthood among the Tahitians is said to have been a distinct hereditary caste. The priests were regarded as mediators between men and the gods.

The morais or sepulchres of the Tahitians were places of worship as well as of burial. Perhaps, as in Tonga, only the secondary rank of Hotooas, or, as they were termed by the Tahitians, Eatooas, were worshipped in these sepulchral temples, which were raised with greater labour and care than those of the Tongans. Pyramids were erected in them, of construction resembling the Egyptian, though on a small scale, formed of huge blocks of hewn and polished coral-stone. Sacrifices of animals and occasionally of human victims were celebrated in them.

The following description of the persons of the Tahitians appears to have been drawn with great skill and accuracy by Mr. Ellis, who during an abode of six years in Tahiti had abundant opportunities of observation.

"The inhabitants of these islands are generally above the middle stature; but their limbs are less muscular and firm than those of the Sandwich Islanders, whom in many respects they resemble. They are, at the same time, more robust than the Marquesans, who are the most light and agile of the inhabitants of Eastern Polynesia. In size and physical power they are inferior to the New Zealanders, and probably resemble in person the Friendly Islanders, as much as any others in the Pacific; exhibiting, however, neither the gravity of the latter, nor the vivacity of the Marquesans. Their minds are well formed, and although where corpulency prevails there is a degree of sluggishness in their actions, they are generally active in their movements, graceful and stately in their gait, and perfectly unembarrassed in their address. Those who reside in the interior, or frequently visit the mountainous parts of the islands, form an exception to this remark. The constant use of their naked feet in climbing the steep sides of the rocks, or the narrow defiles of the ravines, probably induces them to turn their toes inwards, which renders their gait exceedingly awkward."

"Their countenance is said to be open and prepossessing, though their features are bold and sometimes prominent. The

facial angle is frequently as perpendicular as in the European structure, excepting where the frontal and occipital bones of the skulls were pressed together in infancy. This was frequently done by the mothers, with the male children, when they were designed for warriors. The forehead is sometimes low, but frequently high and finely formed; the eyebrows are dark and well defined, occasionally arched, but more generally straight; the eyes seldom large, but bright and full, and of a jet black colour; the cheek-bones by no means high; the nose either rectilinear or aquiline, often accompanied with a fulness about the nostrils; it is seldom flat, notwithstanding it was formerly the practice of the mothers and nurses to press the nostrils of the female children, a flat and broad nose being by many regarded as more ornamental than otherwise. The mouth in general is well formed, though the lips are sometimes large, yet never so much so as to resemble those of the African. The teeth are always entire, excepting in extreme old age, and, though rather large in some, are remarkably white, and seldom either discolored or decayed. The ears are large, and the chin retreating or projecting, most generally inclining to the latter. The form of the face is either round or oval, and but very seldom exhibits any resemblance to the angular form of the Tartar visage, while their profile frequently bears a most striking resemblance to that of the European countenance. Their hair is of a shining black or dark brown colour; straight, but not lank and wiry like that of the American Indian, nor, excepting in a few solitary instances, woolly like the New Guinea or New Holland Negroes. Frequently it is soft and curly, though seldom so fine as that of the civilised natives inhabiting the temperate zones."

"There is a considerable difference between the stature of the male and female sex here, as well as in other parts of the world, yet not so great as that which often prevails in Europe. The females, though generally more delicate in form and smaller in size than the men, are, taken altogether, stronger and larger than the females of England, and are sometimes remarkably tall and stout. A roundness and fulness of figure, without extending to corpulency, distinguishes the people in general, particularly the females."

"The prevailing colour of the natives is an olive, a bronze, or a reddish brown,—equally removed from the jet-black of the African and the Asiatic, the yellow of the Malay, and the red or copper colour of the aboriginal American, frequently presenting a kind of medium between the two latter colours. Considerable variety, nevertheless, prevails in the complexion of the population of the same island, and as great a diversity among the inhabitants of different islands. The natives of the Palliser or Pearl Islands, a short distance to the eastward of Tahiti, are darker than the inhabitants of the Georgian groupe. It is not, however, a blacker hue that their skin presents, but a darker red or brown. The natives of Maniaa, or Mangeea, one of the Harvey cluster, and some of the inhabitants of Rurutee, and the neighbourhood to the south of Tahiti, designated by Malte-Brun, 'the Austral Islands," and the majority of the reigning family of Raiatea, are not darker than the inhabitants of some parts of southern Europe.

"At the time of their birth the complexion of Tahitian infants is but little, if any, darker than that of European children, and the skin only assumes the bronze or brown hue as they grow up under repeated or constant exposure to the sun. Those parts of the body that are most covered, even with their loose draperies of native cloth, are, through every period of life, of much lighter colour than those that are exposed; and, notwithstanding the dark tint with which the climate appears to dye their skin, the ruddy bloom of health and vigour, or the sudden blush, is often seen mantling the youthful countenance under the light brown tinge, which, like a thin veil, but partially conceals its glowing hue. The females who are much employed in beating cloth, making mats, or other occupations followed under shelter, are usually fairer than the rest; while the fishermen, who are most exposed to the sun, are invariably the darkest portion of the population."

"The mental capacity of the Society Islanders has been hitherto much more partially developed than their physical character. They are remarkably curious and inquisitive, and, compared with other Polynesian nations, may be said to possess considerable ingenuity, together with mechanical

invention and imitation. Totally unacquainted with the use of letters, their minds could not be improved by any regular or continued culture; yet the distinguishing features of their civil polity—the imposing nature, the numerous observances, and diversified ramifications of their mythology—the legends of their gods—the historical songs of their bards—the beautiful, figurative, and empassioned eloquence sometimes displayed in their national assemblies—and, above all, the copiousness, variety, precision, and purity of their language, with their extensive use of numbers—warrant the conclusion, that they possess no contemptible mental capabilities.

"This conclusion has been abundantly confirmed since the establishment of schools and the introduction of letters. Not only have the children and young persons learned to read, write, cipher, and commit their lessons to memory with a facility and quickness not exceeded by individuals of the same age in any civilised country; but the education of adults, and even persons advanced in years—which, in England, with every advantage, is so difficult an undertaking that nothing but the use of the best means and the most untiring application ever accomplished it—has been effected here with comparative ease. Multitudes who were upwards of thirty or forty years of age when they commenced with the alphabet, had, in the course of twelve months, learned to read distinctly in the New Testament, large portions, and even whole books of which, some of them had in a short period committed to memory.

"They acquired the first rules of arithmetic with equal facility, and had readily received the different kinds of instruction hitherto furnished, as fast as their teachers could prepare lessons in their native language. It is probable that not less than ten thousand persons have learned to read the sacred Scriptures, and that nearly an equal number are either capable of writing, or are under instruction. In the several stations and branch stations, many thousands are still receiving daily instruction in the first principles of human knowledge and divine truth."*

The difference of features, complexion, and stature, which

* Ellis's Polynesian Researches, vol. ii., pp. 19, 20.

is found to subsist between the different ranks of the community in the Society Islands is a phenomenon which has excited very general attention.

" It is a singular fact," says Mr. Ellis, " in the physiology of the inhabitants of this part of the world, that the chiefs and persons of hereditary rank and influence in the islands are, almost without exception, as much superior to the peasantry or common people in stateliness, dignified deportment, and physical strength as they are in rank and circumstances; although they are not elected to their station on account of their personal endowments, but derive their rank and elevation from their ancestry. This is the case with most of the groupes of the Pacific, but particularly so in Tahiti and the adjacent isles. The father of the late king was six feet four inches high; Pomare was six feet two. The present king of Raiatea is equally tall. Mahine, the king of Huaheine, but for the effects of age, would appear little inferior. Their limbs are generally well formed, and the whole figure proportioned to their height, which renders the difference between the rulers and their subjects so striking, that some have supposed they were a distinct race, the descendants of a superior people, who at a remote period had conquered the aborigines, and perpetuated their supremacy. It does not, however, appear necessary, in accounting for the fact, to resort to such a supposition; different treatment in infancy, superior food, and distinct habits of life are quite sufficient."*

Mr. Ellis alludes in the preceding remarks to the conjectural explanation offered with a view of accounting for the diversity of physical characters between the different classes in Tahiti, viz. that it has arisen from the subjugation of a darker and inferior race by one of fairer complexion and superior stature. Mr. Ellis, as we have seen, rejects this supposition. His opinion coincides with that of M. Lesson, from whom I shall cite the following observations:—

" Les O-Taïtiens sont le type de notre rameau océanien, bien qu'on ait pensé que le peuple et les chefs n'appartenaient

* Ellis, v. ii, pp. 16, 17.

point à la même race: mais cette distinction des *tiaous* ou *tiraras* (les chefs) d'avec les *toutous* (bas peuple) ne repose que sur des indications vagues et superficielles: car si la plupart des *tiaous* diffèrent des autres insulaires par une taille plus avantageuse, par une teinte de peau plus claire, cela tient à ce qu'ils sont mieux nourris et moins exposés à l'influence du soleil: d'ailleurs on observe dans la caste privilégiée quelques hommes contrefaits et très basanés. Tous les Taïtiens, sous presque aucune exception, sont de très beaux hommes: leurs membres ont des proportions gracieuses, mais en même temps robustes en apparence, et partout les saillies musculaires sont enveloppées par un tissu cellulaire épais qui arrondit ce que les formes ont de trop saillant. Nous mesurâmes deux des plus beaux hommes du district de Matavai nommés Faeta et Upaparu; leur taille était de cinq pieds huit pouces et quelques lignes, et il n'est pas rare de rencontrer des insulaires qui aient cette stature; cependant les dimensions les plus ordinaires du reste des habitants sont, terme moyen, de cinq pieds trois à cinq pouces."*

SECTION IV.—*The Maorians or New Zealanders.*

The first European who found his way to New Zealand was Tasman, who arrived in that country in 1642, immediately after his discovery of Van Diemen's Land, now named after that celebrated navigator Tasmania. New Zealand consists of two long narrow islands and several small ones. These islands are situated between the thirty-fourth and forty-eighth degrees of S. L., in a temperate climate, where the trees preserve their foliage during the winter. In the months of April and May, corresponding to our October and November, the pot-herbs of our climate are in New Zealand still in flower. The country is subject to severe storms and hurricanes. It is in great part covered with thick forests, and bears in ravines and other places where trees are wanting an immense vegetation of ferns. In the interior are hills which in the southern

* Lesson, Les Mammifères et les Oiseaux, vol. ii. pp. 205, 206.

island form a mountain chain of considerable elevation, running through the inland country, and having their summits covered with snow. The mountains of New Zealand are supposed to be principally volcanic. They form the centre of a botanical kingdom or province of the vegetable creation, which comprises the neighbouring islands of Chatham, Auckland, and Macquarie. It has been observed by Dr. Dieffenbach, to whom we are indebted for the most instructive work on the physical productions of this country, that although the Flora of New Zealand displays some relations to those of the two great continents between which it is situated, the American and the Australian, and even possesses species identical with those of Europe, yet the greater portion of its plants consist of species and even genera peculiar and indigenous. Even the proportions of plants belonging to the great families are in New Zealand peculiar. Of 632 species already known, 314 are dicotyledonous, and 318 cellular and monocotyledonous. The scantiness of annual and flowering plants in proportion to trees and ferns gives a distinctive character to the aspect of vegetation in this country, which is ably described by Dr. Dieffenbach. "If the traveller should happen to come from New South Wales, he perceives either that the glaucous colour of a New South Wales landscape; produced by the Eucalypti, Casuarineæ, Acaciæ, and Banksias of its open forests, which is duly relieved in certain situations by a fresher green, and in certain seasons and localities by a variety of beautiful flowers; has given way in New Zealand to the glossy green of a dense and mixed forest, or that the landscape, when it is covered with the abundant fern, has assumed a brown hue. In the former aspect, depending partly upon the Tree Ferns, Palms, and Dracænas, which abound in New Zealand, that country resembles one situated between the tropics, and especially the beautiful islands of the Pacific."*

New Zealand contained at the era of its discovery no quadrupeds except the dog and a species of rat, smaller than that of Europe. Amphibious mammifers were more numerous,

* Dieffenbach's Travels in New Zealand, vol. i., p. 421.—Brown's Appendix to Flinder's voyage.

especially the Phoca Marina. Birds abounded in the forests, which contain several new tribes, particularly a dwarf species resembling the Casoary, which has received the generic name of Apterix; it is called Kiwi by the natives, who hunt it on the sides of the mountain Ikou-kangui with flambeaux and dogs.* It would seem that, while the organisation of warm-blooded animals received in Australia a particular tendency to the developement of the marsupial tribes, it was directed in New Zealand to that of birds. It was there that the gigantic ostrich lived in times long antecedent to the arrival of men, who probably brought dogs and rats from some distant country.

The people of New Zealand call themselves *Maori*, Indigenæ, Aborigines, or "Tangata Maori," indigenous men. They call other people "Pakea," which means a stranger: the Australians are termed by them "Pakea Mango," which means a black stranger.† We are informed that they have no proper epithet for their country, and that the names given to these two islands are merely the designations of particular districts, of which the meaning has been misunderstood.‡ As in other Polynesian islands the population in New Zealand is divided into different classes. The highest class are the Rangatiras, nobles or possessors of the soil: the Tangatas are men of the people without landed property, who follow the chiefs to battle, and employ themselves in fishing, hunting, and the cultivation of the soil. The slaves, or Taorekas, or Taua-neha-reha, are occupied in servile drudgery: § they are either captives taken in war or such of the children as are born in slavery. ‖ The principal

* Dumont D'Urville, œuv. cit.

† Travels in New Zealand, by Dr. Dieffenbach, vol. ii.

‡ This is the opinion of Mr. Willis, commander of the late Exploring Expedition of the United States.

These names are, according to Dumont D'Urville, who proposed to correct the orthography of Cook, Tawaï-Pounamou, and Ika-na-Maui. The former, which is the southern island, is named from the "Lake of Green-jade," a substance which there abounds; the latter name means the "Fish of Mawi." A superstitious notion induces the natives to compare this island to a fish. Maui is, it seems, the name which they ascribe to the patriarch of their race.

§ Narrative of the United States Exploring Voyage.

‖ Dr. Dieffenbach.

person in each tribe is the Orihi, who is always a Rangatira. His dignity is hereditary both in the male and female line. The authority of a chief is quite undefined, and depends principally on his personal influence or prowess. There is an hereditary priesthood. The priests or Totoungas are interpreters of the gods. They are believed to foretell events, cure diseases, calm storms and winds. M. D'Urville thought them not merely jugglers: he discovered that some of them really believe themselves possessed of the miraculous powers ascribed to them. Independently of the division of ranks, the inhabitants are divided into a great number of tribes, who live dispersed over the country both on the coast and the interior. Indeed almost all powerful families have their own designation. The tribes are enumerated by Dr. Dieffenbach nearly as follows.

1. Rarewa, who live between North Cape and the 35th degree of S. L. They have broken up or taken as slaves the tribe of Haupouri, a once powerful people, who had their chief position on the northern coast. 8000 is supposed to be the number of this tribe.

2. Nga-pai and Nga-te-poa, tribes of the Bay of Islands and Hokianga. Twelve thousand of this tribe are under different missionaries. they have 3000 men capable of bearing arms.

3. Nga-te-whatua, in the gulf of Kaipara and Waitemata. Their number has dwindled of late to about 800.

4. Nga-te-paoa, comprising the Nga-te-Maru, the Nga-te-Tamatera, and the Nga-te-Wanaunga. Though diminished by wars, they are still about 5000. They live at Waiho or Thames.

5. By far the largest tribe are the Waikato; they comprise eighteen subdivisions, most of which reside on the river Waikato. These are the tribes who have preserved most of their pristine valour: they occupy most of New Zealand, and have driven numerous tribes into the country near Cook's Straits. The Waikato tribes are collectively at least 24,000 people, and they bring 6000 men into the field.

6. Nga-te-awa, divided into two portions. One occupies both sides of Cook's Straits: the other lives on the east coast of the northern island. The Taranaki Nga-te-awa on Cook's Straits have a tradition that they descended from those on the east coast. The former are divided into a great number of

different families. The first division is estimated at 6000, the second at 8600 souls.

7. Nga-te-Wakaua. A subdivision of this tribe named Ta-hourangi, on the lake of Terawera in the interior, retain the native character and customs more than any other people. The number of this tribe is 10,000.

8. Nga-te-tuaretoa, 3200 souls, near the river Waikato.

9. Nga-te-raukaua, in Otaki, to the north of Kapiti; number 600.

10. Nga-te-kuhuhunu, a numerous tribe on the east coast above Waiapu. Dr. Dieffenbach thinks its numbers not less than 36,000. They are a very industrious people, rapidly improving.

11 and 12. Rangitani and Nga-haitao.* These were the tribes visited by Captain Cook at Queen Charlotte's Sound. They were once very numerous, but appear to have been nearly exterminated in a war in which the Nga-te-awa conquered them.

In this census the author does not pretend to accuracy, but as he visited nearly all the tribes and inquired the numbers of fighting men in each, he is probably not far from the truth.

It has been the opinion of some writers that the Maorians are not all one race of people, but a mixed nation, consisting of the remains of an aboriginal population which is supposed to have been a Papuan or Pelagian Negro tribe and a Polynesian race who conquered them and became gradually blended with them by intermarriages. The proof given of this opinion is the wide difference in physical characters observed between different individuals in New Zealand, which, however, does not appear to be greater than in Tahiti or Hawaii, and doubtless depends on similar causes. The following is the description of their physical characters by

* Nga is said in the vocabulary of Dieffenbach to be the article for the plural number, and te, the definite article. Nga then appears to be a pluralising prefix analogous to the Ama of the Kafir Kosah. The tribe of Kosah call themselves collectively or in the plural the Ama-Kosah. Perhaps Nga is a genitive prefix, and as such Dieffenbach seems to have considered it.

Mr. Anderson, who visited New Zealand in company with Captain Cook.

"The natives do not exceed the common stature of Europeans, and in general are not so well made, especially about the limbs. There are, however, several exceptions to this, and some are remarkable for their large bones and muscles, but few that I have seen are corpulent.

"Their colour is of different casts, *from a pretty deep black to a yellowish or olive tinge:* and their features also are various, some resembling Europeans. But in general their faces are round, with their lips full, and also their noses towards the point; though the first are not uncommonly thick, nor the last flat. I do not, however, recollect to have seen an instance of the true aquiline nose amongst them. Their teeth are commonly broad, white and well set; and their eyes large, with a very free motion, which seems the effect of habit. Their hair is black, straight, and strong, commonly cut short on the hind part, with the rest tied on the crown of the head; but some have it of a curling disposition, or of a brown colour. In the young, the countenance is generally free, or open; but in many of the men it has a serious cast, and sometimes a sullenness or reserve, especially if they are strangers. The women are in general smaller than the men, but have few peculiar graces, either in form or features, to distinguish them."*

Captain Fitzroy in his narrative of the surveying voyage of the Adventure and Beagle, has thus described the people of New Zealand.

"The countenances of some of the men independently of the tattooing are handsome according to European ideas of line beauty. Regular, well-defined, and high features are often seen; but they are exceptions rather than the usual characteristics. Generally speaking, the New Zealander has a retreating and narrow forehead—rather wide, however, at the base; a very prominent brow; deeply sunk black eyes, small and ever restless; a small nose, rather hollow in most cases, though

* Anderson's Observations, inserted in the account of the last voyage of Captain Cook, vol. i. p. 153.

occasionally straight or even aquiline, with full nostrils; the upper lip is short, but that and the lower are thick; the mouth rather wide; white and much blunted teeth; with a chin neither large nor small, but rather broad. Some have higher and better heads, and a less marked expansion of brow, nostrils, and lips; others again are the reverse; usually their eyes are placed horizontally, but some are inclined, like those of the Chinese, though not remarkably; indeed, not so much so as those of a Scotchman whom I met there. Among the women I noticed a general depression of the bridge of the nose, and a flat frontal region.

"The general complexion of both women and men is a dark coppery-brown; but it varies from the lightest hue of copper to a rich mahogany or chocolate, and in some cases almost to black. The natural colour of the skin is much altered by paint, dirt, and exposure. Before closing this slight description of the personal appearance of the Zealanders, I must allude to the remarkable shape of their teeth. In a white man the enamel usually covers all the tooth, whether front or double; but the teeth of a man of New Zealand are like those of the Fuegians, and at a first glance remind one of those of a horse. Either they are all worn down—canine, cutting-teeth, and grinders—to an uniform height, so that their interior texture is quite exposed, or they are of a peculiar structure."*

M. d'Urville thus describes the physical characters of the New Zealanders: "They are of middle stature, regular form, with strong limbs, little fat, strongly marked countenance, complexion tawny but not of a deep tint, hair long, flat, smooth, mostly black, sometimes of a chestnut colour, eyes large and well placed, nose well formed but with somewhat dilated nostrils, little hair on the body." "Among people of

* Voyage of the Adventure and Beagle, vol. ii. pp. 569, 570. The following note is appended: "This apparent wearing away of the teeth is not found in the New Zealanders alone. The Fuegians, Araucanians, and Society Islanders show it more or less, and it is very remarkable among the natives of New Holland. I have also seen some white men (Europeans) with similar teeth, but they were all elderly; whereas in some young savages I have noticed incisors shaped rather like those of a horse."

this description are found intermixed individuals of smaller stature, more squat and broad, of complexion dark without being black, crisp hair, frizzled beard, small eyes, sunk but piercing, and the body covered with more abundant hair."

M. D'Urville observes that some voyagers have considered these diversities of physical character as constituting two distinct races, but that he regards them as merely two varieties; yet he accounts for the difference by the supposition that it is the result of an intermixture between a conquering tribe of the Polynesian race and certain "autochthones" or aborigines, who may have been a people resembling the inhabitants of the New Hebrides or of New Caledonia. He admits that in the present day not a single individual is to be found who may pass for a genuine descendant of such a race. The general type of physiognomy above described passes into numerous varieties, some of which recal the fine models of antiquity, while others display a shape of features resembling the Jewish countenance.

Dr. Dieffenbach has given a very particular, and, as it seems, a very accurate description of the physical characters of the Maori. His statement appears at first favourable to the hypothesis of M. D'Urville, but he afterwards explains himself differently, as we shall perceive.

He says, "It appears that the New Zealanders are of two different races of the human family.

"The men belonging to the first of these races, which is by far the most numerous, are generally tall, of muscular and well-proportioned frame, very rarely inclining to *embonpoint*, but varying in size as much as Europeans do. Their cranium often approaches in shape the best and most intellectual European heads. In general, however, it may be said to be of longer dimension from the forehead to the occiput; the forehead itself is high, but not very full in the temporal regions: the coronal ridge is ample; no coronal suture exists; the occiput is well developed, shewing a great amount of animal propensities,—not, however, in undue proportion over the intellectual. In a skull which I possess of a man of one of the interior tribes of Roturua, the frontal sinuses are much developed, the skull lengthened, the forehead somewhat

inclining; the osseous part of the nose is much depressed, and the nasal bones are much more curved than in the European: the upper maxilla protrudes much, especially the part from one incisor to the other; the bones are thick and heavy in comparison with those of an European, and this is a character which seems to be rather general. Wormian bones are unusual; in the skull referred to there is one at the lower angle of the parietal and its junction with the occipital bone. This skull is certainly one possessing all the peculiar characteristics of the race; but the skulls of many New Zealanders in no way differ from those of Europeans.

"The colour of the New Zealanders is a light, clear brown, varying very much in shade; sometimes it is even lighter than that of a native of the south of France: the nose is straight and well-shaped, often aquiline, the mouth generally large, and the lips in many cases more developed than those of Europeans: the eyes are dark and full of vivacity and expression: the hair is generally black, and lank, or slightly curled: the teeth are white, even, and regular, and last to old age; the feet and hands are well-proportioned: the former, being uncovered, are in a healthy developement, and a Maori laughs at our misshapen feet. As the New Zealanders often use the second and great toes in weaving and plaiting the ropes of the phormium, the toes are less confined than with us, and they have more command over the muscles. Their features are prominent, but regular; the expression of the countenance quiet and composed, shewing great self-command, and this is heightened by the tattooing, which prevents the face from assuming the furrows of passion or the wrinkles of age; their physiognomy bears no sign of ferocity, but is easy, open, and pleasing. Some of the natives have hair of a reddish or auburn colour, and a very light-coloured skin. I may also mention here that I have seen a perfect xanthous variety in a woman, who had flaxen hair, white skin, and blue eyes; not perhaps a half-caste, but a morbid variety, as was proved by the extreme sensibility of her visual organs, her rather pallid appearance, and her age; on her cheeks the skin was rather rough and freckled. The natives who live near the hot sulphurous waters on the borders of the Lake of Roturua have the enamel of

their teeth, especially of the front teeth, yellow, although this does not impair their soundness, and is the effect, probably, of the corroding qualities of the thermal waters. In a skull which I possess of a chief of that tribe, the last incisor and the canine tooth shew, when they join together, a semilunar incision. This is the case in both the upper and lower maxillæ, but more so in the upper. It is perhaps made with an instrument, or is occasioned by the constant use of the pipe.

"The second race has undoubtedly a different origin. This is proved by their less regularly shaped cranium, which is rather more compressed from the sides, by their full and large features, prominent cheek-bones, full lips, sunk ears, curly and coarse, although not woolly hair, a much deeper colour of the skin, and a short and rather ill-proportioned figure. This race, which is mixed in insensible gradations with the former, is far less numerous; it does not predominate in any one part of the island, nor does it occupy any particular station in a tribe, and there is no difference made between the two races amongst themselves; but I must observe that I never met with any man of consequence belonging to this race, and that, although free men, they occupied the lower grades; from this we may perhaps infer the relation in which they stood to the earliest native immigrants into the country, although their traditions and legends are silent on the subject.

"From the existence of two races in New Zealand the conclusion might be drawn that the darker were the original proprietors of the soil, anterior to the arrival of a stock of true Polynesian origin,—that they were conquered by the latter, and nearly exterminated. This opinion has been entertained regarding all Polynesian islands, bnt I must observe that it is very doubtful whether those differences which we observe amongst the natives of New Zealand are really due to such a source. We find similar varieties in all Polynesian islands, and it is probable that they are a consequence of the difference of castes so extensively spread amongst the inhabitants of the islands of the Great Ocean. If one part of the population of New Zealand were a distinct race,—a fact which cannot be denied as regards other islands,—it is very curious that there should be no traces of such a blending in the language, in which

they would have been most durable, or in the traditions, which certainly would have mentioned the conquest of one race by the other, if it had really happened. Captain Croset, a Frenchman, who early visited New Zealand, says that he found a tribe at the North Cape darker than the rest. I could observe nothing of the kind there, although I visited all the natives. Nor are these darker-coloured individuals more common in the interior; I should say, even less so. There is undoubtedly a greater variety of colour and countenance amongst the natives of New Zealand than one would expect,—a circumstance which might prove either an early blending of different races, or a difference of social conditions, which latter supposition would go far to explain the fact. All the New Zealanders speak of the Mango-Mango (blacks) of New South Wales as unconnected with and inferior to themselves, but they never make such a distinction regarding their own tribes."*

It seems from these remarks that the author does not suppose the Maori to be a mixture of two different nations, but one people, divided from remote times into different castes; and this, as Dr. Dieffenbach has assured me, was his ultimate and deliberate opinion. Though the differences of physical character appeared on a superficial view so great as to afford countenance to the hypothesis of M. D'Urville, the total want of any other indications of a mixed origin of which he became aware on an intimate acquaintance with the people, led him to the conclusion that the variations of type are the result of some other agency. The question seems to be precisely the same as to the New Zealanders as in regard to the Tahitians and other Polynesians. They all display similar diversities of caste. There seems to be a greater tendency to variation in the physical type among these islanders than in any other parts of the world; and if we admit the existence of two races, it will not explain the phenomena. For example, if we assume that there exists in these islands a Papuan tribe in juxta-position with another of Malayan origin, whence are we to deduce the xanthous variety? The fair people of Tahiti and the Marquesas are numerous, and they are as completely

* Travels in New Zealand, vol. ii. pp. 7—11.

xanthous as any Europeans. There seems to be something in the manner of life and food of these islanders, which, aided by the influence of their climate, tends to favour the appearance of variation. The higher classes are of finer form and larger stature and fairer complexion than the lower orders, and the chiefs appear to be superior in other respects to all the other members of the community. The most intelligent and best-informed travellers ascribe this difference in Tahiti, as we have seen, to the different manner of life to which the higher and lower orders are subjected, or to the ease and affluence and better nutrition which is the lot of the nobles and chiefs. Mr. Ellis, and the missionaries who have been best acquainted with the people of that island, assure us that, though there are differences of caste, the physical characters prevalent in each are not constant diversities; and unless this should appear to be the case with the Maorians, we cannot look upon the varieties discovered as national peculiarities. The people themselves have, as it seems from Dr. Dieffenbach's account, no tradition or opinion which favours such an hypothesis. They consider themselves to be of one origin and have no difference of dialect. Still, in the present state of our knowledge on this subject, it would be rash to draw any positive conclusion.

Traditions and Mythology.

Maui, or Mauwi, is the mythical ancestor of the New Zealanders. Mauwi is not a god: he is distinctly stated to have been a man. Mauwi and his brothers fished up New Zealand. The story is nearly a counterpart to the mythos of Tangaloa in the Tonga Isles. The northern isle is sometimes called Te-ahi-na-Maui, that is, "The begotten of Mauwi," though this name is little known. The people arrived in five canoes: they came from two islands named Hawaiki and Tawai, which Dieffenbach supposes to be isles in the Sandwich groupe. He infers, chiefly from this tradition, that New Zealand received its inhabitants from the Sandwich Islands.

A brief account of the old Paganism of New Zealand has been written by M. D'Urville. The word *atoua*, like the

corresponding words at Tahiti and Hawaii, expresses God in general; that of *waidona*, spirits, especially those of the dead. The atouas are immaterial, intelligent beings, and are never represented by idols. The principal atouas are Maui-Ranga-Rangui, supreme God of the heavens: Tipoko, god of anger and of death: Tauwaki, ruler of the elements and of thunder: Maui-Moua, and Maui-Potiki, two brothers who worked together in making the earth: Heko-Toro, god of tears, &c. Besides these, a crowd of other gods have particular attributes. The atouas, though immaterial and immortal, can put on a particular form, and sometimes in the shape of a lizard enter the bowels and gnaw them; lizards are consequently held in religious dread: sometimes in the shape of an immense fish the atoua produces thunder, and after the bolt has fallen he is addressed in prayers. The religion of the Maorians, as that of other Polynesians, is a religion of terror, and the malevolent gods are rather invoked than the more indifferent and peaceable ones.*

Section V.—*The Hawaiian Islanders.*

The groupe of islands termed formerly Sandwich Islands, and now generally named from the principal island of the cluster Hawaii or Owhyhee, are situated in the northern hemisphere within the tropic of Cancer, between 18° 50′ and 22° 20′ W. L. about one-third part of the breadth of the Pacific from the American coast. They are larger than the Tahitian Islands or any of the neighbouring groupes. Though ten in number, only eight of them are inhabited, the other two being barren rocks chiefly frequented by fishermen. Hawaii, the principal island of the groupe, resembles in shape an equilateral triangle, and is somewhat less than 300 miles in circumference.† It is supposed to contain 85,000 inhabitants. The whole appearance of Hawaii is less picturesque than that of Tahiti, but more grand and sublime, "filling the beholder with wonder and delight." "On ap-

* Dumont D'Urville, œuv. cit. † Ellis, Polynesian Researches.

proaching these islands," says Mr. Ellis, "I have more than once observed the mountains of the interior long before the coast was visible, or any of the usual indications of land had been seen. On these occasions the elevated summit of Mouna Kea, or Mouna Roa, has appeared above the mass of clouds that usually skirt the horizon, like a stately pyramid, or the silvered dome of a magnificent temple, distinguished from the islands beneath only by its well-defined outline, unchanging position, and intensity of brilliancy occasioned by the reflection of the sun's rays from the surface of the snow." *

The height of these mountains has been variously computed: the altitude of Mouna Kea and Mouna Roa is supposed by Mr. Ellis to be not less than 15,000 feet: their summits are covered by perpetual snow.

Separated by a strait from Hawaii is the island of Maui. The other islands lie to the north-west; they are named Tahaurawe, Morokini, Ranai, Morokai, Oahu, Tauai, Niihau, and Taura. The population of Maui is estimated at 18,000, and that of Oahu at 20,000 souls. The whole groupe was supposed at its first discovery to contain 400,000 people. Mr. Ellis says that this was probably beyond the real number; at present the population does not exceed 130,000 or 150,000.

The people of Hawaii, one of the great branches of the Polynesian race, resemble the Tahitians in very many respects. As in Tahiti, there is among them a lordly caste, superior in stature, bodily vigour, and culture to the lower orders. Many of the chiefs are six feet in height and of proportionate bulk. The dames of quality are said to be of colossal bulk and of great muscular strength as well as obesity. The males have little beard, and take pains to get rid of what they have.

The government was absolute: all offices, including the priesthood, were hereditary. There are three classes among the people:—1. the Ariis or chieftains, of whom the king is the principal, under the name of Arii-tabou: 2. the Rana-Kiras, including proprietors of land, inferior chiefs, priests,

* Ellis, Polynesian Researches.

and nobles: 3. Kouakae or Tanatas, cultivators and artisans. This division corresponds nearly with those of the Ariis, Raatiras, and Taatas of Tahiti, the Arihis, Ranga-Tiras, and Tangatas of New Zealand, and the Eguis, Mataboulais, and Touas of Tonga.

The traditions of the Hawaiians are similar to those of Tahiti.* According to one story the first inhabitant of Hawaii descended from Haumea, a female divinity: another fable made them the progeny of Akea, a sort of intermediate being between the gods and men. The most generally received story is that the people came originally in a canoe from Tahiti, the word Tahiti bearing an indefinite meaning, and expressing any remote place abroad. In ancient times, according to this mythos, when the ocean covered the whole world, "un gros oiseau s'abattit sur ses ondes, et y pondit un œuf qui devint Hawaii. Peu après, un homme, une femme, un cochon, un chien, une couple de poules, arrivèrent dans une pirogue de Taïti, abordèrent sur la côte orientale d'Hawaii, et s'y établirent. Une version qui avait cours à Oahou ajoutait que les nouveaux-venus s'arrangèrent à l'aimable avec les dieux et les esprits qui seuls peuplaient alors les îles. Les mêmes traditions et d'autres encore mentionnent un déluge qui submergea tout le groupe à l'exception d'un piton laissé à sec sur le Mouna Kea. Là des êtres humains se sauvèrent et servirent de noyau à la population actuelle."

The following account is given by my late excèllent friend, M. De Freycinet, of the religious notions and customs of the Hawaiians.

"Les attributs de la divinité forment autant de dieux différens ou d'esprits particuliers, auxquels a été attribué le pouvoir de dispenser le bien et le mal au genre humain, suivant le mérite de chacun. Leur résidence habituelle est placée dans les idoles ou dans les corps de certains animaux. Une hiérarchie immuable soumet aux dieux les plus puissans ceux qui exercent le moindre pouvoir. Les âmes des rois, des héros, de certains prêtres, forment une légion de dieux

* D'Urville, Resumé Général des Voyages et Découvertes, vol. i. p. 441. Ellis, Tour round Hawaii.

inférieurs et tutélaires, subordonnés également entre eux, suivant le rang qu'ils occupent sur la terre. De malins esprits, qui ne se plaisent qu'à nuire, sont l'objet de conjurations et d'exorcismes. Des prêtres, des sorciers, des augures, des offrandes, des sacrifices humains, les honneurs rendus aux morts, les cérémonies expiatoires et quelques autres, enfin l'établissement des villes de refuge, tel est l'ensemble du culte extérieur."

Each family had its own divinity: those of Tamea-mea were the god of war, and Pele, the goddess of volcanos; of Maui, the god Keoro-Eva. Swine were offered to the latter, the priest piercing the ears of the animal, after which it was suffered to range over the island unmolested, and regarded as sacred. Tiha was also worshipped at Maui. At Ranai, Rae-Apoua and Kane-Apóua, gods of the sea, were worshipped by fishermen. Morokai worshipped Moho-Arii (king of lizards) under the form of a shark; and certain fish were offered to him. Every promontory had its temple and rites.

Their deities presided over winds, seasons, and tides, and received the prayers and vows of mariners. Karaï-Pahoa, the most hideous of all the idols of the Archipelago, was worshipped at Morokai; he was made of a wood so poisonous as to render deadly water which rested in it. This idol was broken up at the death of Tamea-Mea, and divided between the chiefs. But another specimen of this deity existed at Morokai, an idol to which is attached a singular legend.

A physical difference between the higher and lower classes is observed in other groupes of islands. In the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands we find it described by voyagers; and here, according to the very positive and apparently accurate account of M. Choris, a distinguished artist, and who as a painter may be supposed very unlikely to have given a mistaken testimony on a subject of this kind, the difference between the higher and lower classes as to complexion and corresponding peculiarities is somewhat different from what is said to exist in other groupes of islands.

The following is the description of the Hawaiians given by M. Choris in his own words:—

" Les enfans, en venant au monde, sont complêtement noirs; la jeune fille la plus jolie, et la plus delicate, qui s'expose le moins à l'action de l'air et du soleil, est noire; celles qui sont obligées de travailler constamment à l'ardeur du soleil, sont presque de couleur orangée."

The hair of these people is sometimes crisp, or frizzled, approaching to the woolly appearance; in other instances soft and flexible. M. Choris says: " Les grands se distinguent aisément du peuple; ils sont de haute taille, et gras; leur teint est brun foncé; ils ont les cheveux moins longs que les gens du commun, souvent crêpus et courts; les lèvres généralement assez grosses; tandis que le peuple est petit et maigre, à le teint plus jaune, les cheveux plus lisses."

SECTION VI.—*Natives of the Groupe of Nouka-Hiva, or the Marquesas.*

The cluster of islands termed the Marquesas, or the groupe of Nouka-Hiva, so named from one of the largest of the number, are situated about the ninth degree to the southward of the equator. They were discovered by Alvaro de Mendana in 1595, and were by him named Las Marquesas de Mendoza. They were visited by Captain Cook in 1774, who, however, did not land on the island of La Madalena, chiefly known to Mendana.

The natural productions of these islands are similar to those of Tahiti and the surrounding groupe. The natives have hogs, fowls, bread-fruit, and coco-nuts, yams, plantains. Rats also existed in these islands. The people are a branch of the Polynesian race nearly allied to the Tahitian, for Oedidee, a native of Ulietea, could converse with them. It has been said, however, that their language is more closely allied to the Hawaiian than to the Tahitian.*

The manners, traditions, and religion of these people are similar to those of the other Polynesian tribes. It would be an useless repetition to describe them.

* D'Urville, œuv. cit.

They appear to be the fairest or most xanthous people of the Pacific Ocean. By the companions of Mendana they are described as "*almost white.*" They had long hair, which some of them suffered to hang loose, and others gathered in a knot at the top of the head. Many among them *had red hair.* In this assertion Quiros and Figueroa, who have each written an account of Mendana's voyage, coincided. "They had various figures painted or wrought into their skins, of a blue colour." "They were of good stature, and so well shaped," says Quiros, "that in person they had much the advantage of the Spaniards."*

Captain Cook says, "The inhabitants of these islands collectively are, without exception, the finest race of people in this sea. For fine shape and regular features they perhaps surpass all other nations." "The men are tattooed from head to foot. This makes them look dark; but the women, who are but little punctured, youths, and young children, who are not at all, are as fair as some Europeans. The men are in general tall, that is, about five feet ten inches, or six feet." "Their hair, like ours, is of many colours, except red, of which I saw none." The Spanish writers expressly mentioned red hair at the island of La Madalena, which Cook did not visit; perhaps they may have given that term to auburn or flaxen hair. "They observe different modes in trimming the beard, which is generally long." "Their clothing is the same as at Otaheite, and made of the same materials, but not so plenty, nor is it so good."†

Section VII.—*Archipelago of Paumotu.*

Paumotú, or "the Cloud of Islands," is the name given by the Tahitians to the vast Archipelago, comprehending a great number of smaller groupes, which extends through a large space in the South Pacific to the eastward of the Society Isles, in a direction from north-west to south-east. The whole

* Burney's Hist. of Discoveries, vol. i.

† Cook, second voyage, vol. i. p. 399.

archipelago is said to be 500 leagues in length from the island of Lazarette or Mataiwa to that of Ducie beyond the tropic of Capricorn, and in some parts it is 140 leagues in breadth. All the islands of which it consists, with the exception of Pitcairn's and Gambier's Islands, are low madreporic lands of small extent, in which the coral reefs forming the shore enclose a lagoon in the interior. The islands are about sixty in number: many of them were discovered by Captain Cook in his first voyage. They have been partially visited by many navigators,* and the westernmost of them by the Tahitian missionaries; and a more complete survey of them has been recently made by the officers of the exploratory voyage lately sent out by the United States.

The people of the Paumotuan Archipelago may perhaps be considered as a particular tribe in the Polynesian race: they do not entirely resemble their nearest neighbours of the Tahitian groupe. The narrator of the American voyage says that they are more warlike than the people of Tahiti, and that during the reign of Pomare I. they even attempted the conquest of that island. Pomare kept a body-guard of Paumotuans, which he preferred to a Tahitian one. The American commander thought them not all of one stock. He says that of all the insular nations they most resemble the Figians. Most of the voyagers who have visited Paumotu have thought the people a mixed race or a mixture of the Polynesian and the Oceanic Negro races. This impression has been given by the diversity of colour among them. I shall cite Captain Beechey's account of these islanders, as he has entered more fully into the subject of their ethnography than any other writer.

Captain Beechey remarked a great difference between the natives of the higher volcanic islands and the low coral islands in this Archipelago. To the former belong the Gambier Islands, of which he has given the following description.†

"The largest portion of the natives of Gambier Islands belong to a class which Mr. G. Forster would place among

* As Krusenstern, Duperrey, and Beechey.

† Captain Beechey, Voyage to the Pacific Ocean and Beering's Straits, vol. i. p. 184.

the first variety of the human species in the South Seas. Like the generality of uncivilised people, they are good-natured when pleased, and harmless when not irritated, obsequious when inferior in force, and overbearing when otherwise; and are carried away by an insatiable desire of appropriating to themselves everything that attracts their fancy—an indulgence which brings them into many quarrels and often costs them their lives. If respect for the deceased be considered a mark of civilisation and humanity, they cannot be considered a barbarous people; but they possess no claims to a worthier designation. In features, language, and customs they resemble the Society, Friendly, Marquesa, and Sandwich Islanders: but they differ from those tribes in one very important point—an exemption from those sensual habits and indecent exhibitions which there pervade all ranks. It may be said of the Gambier Islanders, what few can assert of any people inhabiting the same part of the globe, that during the whole of our intercourse with them we did not witness one indecent act or gesture. There is a great mixture of feature and colour among them, and we should probably have found a difference of dialect also, could we have made ourselves masters of their language. It seems as if several tribes from remote parts of the Pacific had here met, and mingled their peculiarities. In complexion and feature we could trace resemblance even to the widely separated tribes of New Zealand, New Caledonia, and Malacca. Their mode of salutation is the same as that which existed at the Friendly, Society, and Sandwich Islands: they resemble the inhabitants of the latter almost exclusively in tattooing the face, and the inhabitants of the former in staining their skin from the hips to the knees. Their huts, coral tables, and pavements, are nearly the same as at the Friendly Islands and Marquesas; but they are more nearly allied to the latter by a custom which otherwise I believe is at present confined to them, and without a due observance of which Krusenstern says it is in vain to seek a matrimonial alliance. In the preservation of their dead, wrapping them in an abundance of cloth and mats, they copy the Otaheitans and Hapaeans; though in the ultimate disposal of them in caves and keeping them above ground they differ from all

the other islanders. Their language and religion are closely allied to several, yet they differ essentially from all the above-mentioned tribes in having no huge carved images surmounting their morais, and no fiatookas or wattas. Unlike them, also, they are deficient in canoes, though they might easily construct them; they have neither clubs, slings, nor bows and arrows, and are wanting in those marks of self-mutilation which some tribes deem indispensable on the death of their chief or esteemed friends, or in cases where they want to appease their offended deity. They are for the most part fairer and handsomer than the Sandwich Islanders, but less effeminate than the Otaheitans. The average height of the men is above that of Englishmen, but they are not so robust. One man who came on board measured six feet and half-an-inch, and one on shore six feet two and a half inches. The former measured round the thorax under the arms three feet two inches and a half, and a person of less stature three feet one inch. The thickest part of the middle of this person's arm when at rest was eleven inches and three-eighths. Their dimensions of girth will, I believe, be found less in proportion than those of the labouring class of our own countrymen, though the general appearance of these islanders at first leads to a different conclusion. They are upright in figure, round, but not robust. In their muscles there is a flabbiness, and in the old men a laxity of integument, which allows their skin to hang in folds about the belly and thighs to a greater degree than those I afterwards noticed at Otaheite or Woahoo. Two causes may be assigned for this; the nature of their food and their indolent habits.

"In general the Gambier Islanders have a fine Asiatic countenance, with mustachios and beards, but no whiskers; and when their heads are covered with a roll of white cloth, a very common custom, they might pass for Moors. It is somewhat remarkable, that we perceived none of the fourth class, or those more nearly allied to Negroes, thus habited, but that it seemed to be confined to those of the lightest complexion. The colour of their eyes is either hazel or dark brown; they are small, deep in the head, and have generally an expression of cunning. Their eyebrows are naturally

arched and seldom meet in front; the cheek-bones are not so prominent as in the fourth class, and the lips are thinner; the ears are moderately large, and the lobes attached to the cheek, as in all the Pitcairn Islanders, but not perforated; the nose in general is aquiline; the teeth, in the fourth class especially, not remarkable for evenness or whiteness, and seem to fall out at an early period. The hair is turned back and cut straight, and would be quite black were it less subjected to the sun, or like that of the islanders just mentioned, well oiled; but exposed as it is to a scorching sun, it becomes dried up and of different hues on the same head; and combs being unknown, it is bushy and impervious; the mustachios grow long, but the beards, which are kept from three to four inches in length, are sometimes brought to a point, at others divided into two: one man was observed, however, with a beard which hung down to the pit of his stomach; the hands are large, but the feet small and elegant, and the toes close together, from which it is probable that they pass a great portion of their time upon their rafts, or idly basking in the sun, or lying upon their stone pavements like the Hapaeans. The women are below the common standard height, and in personal shape or beauty far inferior to the males. The wife of the chief, who has been already described, was the finest woman I saw among them. Her dress may be considered a fair specimen of the general covering of the women, who have no ornaments of any kind, and appeared quite indifferent to the beads and trinkets which were offered them.

"Tattooing is here so universally practised, that it is rare to meet a man without it, and it is carried to such an extent that the figure is sometimes covered with small chequered lines from the neck to the ankles, though the breast is generally exempt, or only ornamented with a single device. In some, generally elderly men, the face is covered below the eyes, in which case the lines or network are more open than on other parts of the body, probably on account of the pain of the operation, and terminate at the upper part in a straight line from ear to ear, passing over the bridge of the nose. With these exceptions, to which we may add the fashion with

some few of blue lines resembling stockings from the middle of the thigh to the ankle, the effect is becoming, and in a great measure destroys the appearance of nakedness. The patterns which most improve the shape, and which appear to me most peculiar to this groupe, are those which extend from the armpits to the hips, and are drawn forward with a curve, which seems to contract the waist, and at a short distance gives the figure an elegance of outline not unlike that of the figures seen on the walls of the Egyptian tombs. It would be useless to describe the various fanciful attempts to efface the natural colour of the skin; the most common only will be noticed. A large cross, about eight inches in diameter, left white on each side, is on the latissimus dorsi, and a smaller one on each shoulder or on the upper part of the arm; also a narrow stripe passes from one shoulder to the other in a curved line over the lower part of the neck, uniting the tattooing over the fleshy part of the deltoid muscle, and in many so joined as to leave the natural skin in the form of a cross in the middle. Imitations of blue pantaloons or breeches are also very common, and sleeves which divide at the wrist and extend along the convexity of the metacarpal bones to the tips of the fingers and thumbs, leaving a space between the thumb and forefinger on which the mark V is punctured. The chief had this mark, the crosses, the slender waist, and the pantaloons. The wife of the chief had an amulet on each arm; a female who came with her had a square upon her bosom, and some few had stockings."

Two islands in the most remote part of this archipelago are those termed Serle Island and Clermont de Tonnere. The latter is one of the low flat coral islands, clothed with cocoa-nut trees. The inhabitants, as Captain Beechey assures us, are a very inferior race compared with the people of Gambier's Islands. They resemble the natives of Mungea and New Caledonia; yet there is among them great diversity of complexion. "In one of the canoes was a man nearly as dark as an African Negro, with woolly hair tied in a knot, like the Radakers; and another with a light complexion, sandy hair, and European features. Both sexes were naked excepting

the maro, and without ornament or tattooing."* "The people of Serle Island were of *the same dark swarthy* colour as those of Clermont de Tonnerre."† A similar account was given by Captain Beechey of the natives of Lagoon Island and Egmont Island.‡ This writer contrasts the inhabitants of the Society Islands "*with the deep-coloured uncivilised Indians* inhabiting the coral islands *in general*."§

In summing up his observations on the natives of the Paumotuan Archipelago, Captain Beechey adverts again to the history of the people, and he here seems on the whole to regard their difference of complexion and other characters as depending on local conditions rather than on diversity of race.

"Of the thirty-two islands which have thus been visited in succession, only twelve are inhabited, including Pitcairn Island; and the amount of population altogether cannot possibly exceed 3100 souls, of which 1000 belong to the Gambier groupe, and 1260 to Easter Island, leaving 840 persons only to occupy the other thirty islands."

He adds: "All the natives of these islands apparently profess the same religion: all speak the same language, and are in all essential points the same people." He says that "there is a great diversity of feature and complexion between those inhabiting the volcanic islands and the natives of the coral formations, the former being a taller and fairer race. This may be attributed to a difference of food, habits, and comfort; the one having to seek a daily subsistence upon the reefs, exposed to a burning sun, and to the painful glare of a white coral beech, while the other enjoys plentifully the spontaneous produce of the earth, reposes beneath the genial shade of palms or bread-fruit groves, and passes a life of comparative ease and luxury."

Section VIII.—*Natives of Waïhou, Teapi, or Easter Island.*

Easter Island, or Waïhou, is situated at no great distance

* P. 119. † P. 204. ‡ P. 219, 212. § P. 221.

from the chain of Paumotu and in the same latitude with several islands in that groupe, to which Captain Beechey considered it to belong.* It is, perhaps, the most remote from the great continents of all inhabited islands on the face of the globe.

According to Captain Burney this island was probably first seen by the buccaneer Davis in 1686.† It is considered to have been discovered by the Dutch Admiral Roggewein in 1722, who named it the Isle of Paassen or Easter because he arrived at it on Easter-day. The Dutch voyager says that the island abounded in woods and forests, and that the soil was well cultivated with enclosed fields. He adds that the natives lived in cottages from forty to sixty feet long, and cooked their food in earthen pots. Hogs were naturalized in the island. All this is contradicted by late voyagers. The people are said to have been nearly of the same colour as the Spaniards, and some of them almost white. The colossal idols of Easter Island are almost the only feature in the Dutch admiral's description that can be recognised in the accounts of later navigators.

Captain Cook visited Easter Island in 1774, and staid there eight days. The celebrated naturalist Forster, who was his companion, says that the natives named the island Waïhou; Cook says it was called Teapi. Their description differs much from that of Roggewein. They found it almost destitute of wood, and ill-supplied with water. The surface of the isle was mostly covered with a spongy stone, evidently of volcanic origin. The vegetation consisted of a species of grass which grew in tufts so slippery that it was difficult to walk over it without falling. There were no large trees: the principal shrub was a paper mulberry, used by the natives as in Tahiti for the fabric of cloth, and a species of mimosa with a red heavy wood, and stalks of the Hibiscus Populneus. Notwithstanding the want of trees the natives had good canoes, made, as it was conjectured, of drift wood. There was not a single brook or spring of fresh water in the island, and the

* Captain Beechey considers the Island of Waïhou as one of the Archipelago of Paumotu. Voyage in the Pacific.

† History of Discoveries in the South Sea, vol. 1.

natives could only obtain an impure water from a marsh. They had plantations of potatoes, sugar-canes, bananas, and eddoes, and a breed of domestic fowls. There were, however, no hogs in the island. Rats were the only quadrupeds.*

The natives of Easter Island are a branch of the Polynesian stock. Their language was understood though but imperfectly by Oedidee, a native of the Society Isles, who accompanied Captain Cook. "In colour, features, and language, they bear such affinity to the people of the more western isles, that no one will doubt that they have had the same origin. It is extraordinary that the same nation should have spread themselves over all the isles in this vast ocean, from New Zealand to this island, which is almost one-fourth part of the circumference of the globe. Many of them have now no other knowledge of each other than what is preserved by antiquated tradition, and they have by length of time become, as it were, different nations, each having adopted some peculiar custom or habit. Nevertheless a careful observer will soon see the affinity each has to the other."

The writers of Roggewein's voyage say that the natives of this island were a lively, well-made, slender race. Their complexion is said to be brown like that of the Spaniards, but some were darker, and some quite white. Their bodies were painted with all kinds of figures of birds and other animals; the women had coverings of linen red and white, and small hats of straw. Forster says they are of a tawny complexion, rather darker than the Tonga islanders. Their hair, says Cook, is generally black.

The most remarkable thing in Easter Island, and indeed the most wonderful phenomenon in the whole region of the South Sea, are those colossal statues which are scattered in great numbers over the island. These appeared very surprising to Roggewein and his companions, who supposed them to be idols, and said they were attended by men with their heads shaven, who were believed to be priests. Many of these images are erected on platforms formed or faced with

* Cook's Voyage, in Hawkesworth's Collection, vol. ii. p. 297. Forster's Observations.

hewn stones, and from three to twelve feet high. The statues themselves are gigantic. One of them which had fallen measured twenty-seven feet in length, and this was thought to be surpassed by others. They represent the half of the human figure; the features are rudely but not badly formed, the ears are prodigious, and the head is surmounted by a cylindrical cap, not unlike the ornament of some Egyptian busts. They are formed of lavas, some of a soft and friable kind; but others so hard, that it is scarcely possible to conceive that they can have been wrought by any tools of which the present natives are in possession. Captain Cook, indeed, asserts that the present inhabitants have most certainly had no hand in them, for they do not even repair the foundations of those which have fallen into ruin. La Pérouse remarked that they are very ancient, and many of them nearly destroyed by time. Neither he nor Cook perceived that they were objects of worship with the present inhabitants. But if these statues are relics of some former nation, what has befallen the people to whom they are to be ascribed? It seems that they are still used as morais, or burial-places. There are also cylindrical heaps of stones as monuments of the dead, the meaning of which a native of the island explained to M. De Langle, by first laying himself down upon the ground and afterwards lifting his hands towards heaven, with some reference to burial and a future state.

Captain Cook thought the population of this island did not exceed 900 persons, but La Pérouse supposed it to amount to 2000.

Captain Beechey gave a favourable account of these islanders. He says they are a fine race of people, especially the women: they have oval countenances, regular features, a high and smooth forehead, fine teeth; their eyes are black, and rather deeply set. Their complexion is clearer than that of the Malays, and their bodies well made. This writer conjectures that the colossal statues were erected by a former race of people, who have now disappeared, and he alludes in support of this conjecture to the fact that he had seen similar statues on some islands in the Pacific that were destitute of inhabitants. This opinion seems hardly to be reconciled with

the statements of earlier voyagers, who say that the statues of Easter Island were held in veneration by the people whom they found in the country.

SECTION IX.—*Islands of Samoa or Hamoa.**

The Archipelago of Samoa, called by Bougainville "Iles des Navigateurs," is a considerable groupe of islands reaching nearly 100 leagues from east to west, between the latitudes of 13° 30′ and 14° 30′ S. This groupe contains several large islands, some of which are elevated lands of volcanic origin. Opoun, Leone, and Sanfoue are lofty and woody: Maouna is a fertile island: Oïolava is nearly forty miles long, and Pola, which is the most westerly of the groupe, is one of the most beautiful islands of the Pacific Ocean. It is a hundred miles in circumference. Its form is that of an immense cone, and its elevation is compared by Kotzebue to that of Teneriffe.

These islands are supposed by Burney to have been discovered by Roggewein, who called them Baumann's Isles from the name of the captain of the ship Tienhoven. The description given of them by Roggewein is so remote from the truth, that it seems doubtful whether he could have been at the Hamoan islands. Bougainville was the first who gave any clear account of them, but we derive more exact information from his countryman La Pérouse, who lost on the Isle of Maouna some of his best officers.

The people are of the Malaio-Polynesian family, but of what subdivision we have not yet learned. La Pérouse says: "at first we discovered no affinity between their language and those of the Society and Friendly Isles, of which we had vocabularies, but on further examination we found that they spoke a similar dialect. One fact which may serve for some proof of it, and which confirms the opinion of the English on the origin of these people, is, that a young Manillese servant, born in the province of Tagayan in the north of

* Samoa is the native name according to the American Voyagers. Hamoa is the Tongan name for these islands.

Manilla, understood and explained the greatest part of their words." We learn from Mr. Mariner's account of the Tongan Islands that the language of the Hamoan people, as he terms them, is unintelligible to the Tongans. This fact, taken in connection with the observation of La Pérouse, gives reason to suspect that the Hamoan race are more nearly allied to the Tagalan or some other branch of the Indo-Malayan division of this great family than they are to the Polynesians of the Pacific Ocean.

The writer of the American Exploratory Voyage assures us that the Samoan language is similar in construction to the Tahitian. Yet it is not easily understood by the natives of the Society Islands. The Samoans say they never can acquire the Tahitian, and the missionaries familiar with the Tahitian have great difficulty in speaking it. The same writer observes that it is the only Polynesian dialect in which the sibilant consonant occurs. In this point it agrees with the Fíjían. In pronouncing the words of other dialects the Samoans use *l* for *r*, *s* for *h*, and *p* for *b*.

Their physical characters are thus described by La Pérouse. "They are the tallest and best-made islanders we have hitherto met with, their usual height being 5 feet 9, 10, or 11 inches, but their stature is less surprising than the colossal proportions of their limbs." He adds that they were much superior to the French in trials of strength. "They may be said to be, when compared with Europeans, what the Danish horses are, compared with those of the provinces of France."

"The bodies of the men are painted or tattooed, so that they might be mistaken for clothed, although almost naked. They have only a girdle of sea-weeds round their loins, which hangs down to their knees, and reminds us of the river-gods of fabulous history which are delineated with rushes hanging round them. Their hair is very long, and they twist it many times round their heads, thus adding to the fierceness of their expression. The size of the women is proportionate to that of the men: they are tall and slender, and not devoid of grace, but they lose this at an early age. Their gross effrontery and the indecency of their expressions and motions renders them disgusting."

La Pérouse thought there was a mixture in the population of these islands between the Polynesians and the people of the New Hebrides, because the colour of some was much darker than that of others. But this supposition is scarcely compatible with the fact that they have long flowing hair. He adds: "Though descendants of Malays, they have acquired in these islands a vigour, strength, stature, and proportions which they do not derive from their forefathers, but which is undoubtedly owing to the abundance of food, the mildness of the climate, and influence of physical causes, which during a long series of years have been constantly in action." It must be observed that these islands abound in pigs, dogs, fowls, birds, and fish, and likewise in coco-nuts, guava and banian trees, and in sugar-canes.

Bougainville says the colour of these islanders is that of bronze: he saw but one man who was whiter than the rest. They are a very dark-coloured race. Two individuals who were some time since in England with the Rev. Mr. Heath of the London Missionary Society were tall, almost gigantic men, of an olive complexion. They appeared to me considerably darker than most Mulattos.

The best account of the Samoans is to be found in the narrative of the American Exploratory Voyage. "Among the Polynesian islanders the men of Samoa rank in point of personal appearance second only to the Tongans, and many specimens of manly beauty are to be seen among them." "The women are rather ill-formed and stout. When very young, some of them are pretty, and their colour is light, being little darker than that of a brunette or South American Spaniard. The girls are lively, have a good expression of countenance, and what is rare in Polynesia, some degree of bashfulness."

"The average height of the men is 5 feet 10 inches, and some of the chiefs whose limbs are well-rounded would be called fine-looking men in any part of the world. Their features are not in general prominent, but are well marked and distinct, and are all referable to a common type." This type is thus minutely described.

"The nose is short and wide at the base; the mouth large, and well filled with white and strong teeth, with full and well-turned lips; the eyes black, and often large and bright; the forehead narrow and high; and the cheek-bones prominent." It was observed that some of them had the eye turned up at the outer corner like the Chinese. Of beard they have but little; but their hair is strong, straight, and very black. Little difference was perceived in the shape of the heads of the two sexes. The general form of the skull is broad and short, and it is highest near the crown.

The entire population of the groupe is estimated at 56,600, of whom 14,850 have embraced Christianity, and 12,000 attend the missionary schools, of whom about 10,000 can read. Christianity is very likely soon to change the character of this people. The American Voyagers say that on that account they were the more anxious to obtain as much information as possible concerning their religion and heathen manners.*

It seems that the Samoan theogony bears great resemblance to that of the Tongans.

"They acknowledge one great god, whom they call Tangaloa-lagi, but pay less worship to him than to their war-gods, Tamafaiga, Sinleo, and Onafanua. The first entices them to war, the second leads them to it, and the third is a goddess, who encourages them to fight.

"Mafuie is their god of earthquakes, who was deemed to possess great power, but has, according to the Samoans, lost much of it. The way in which they say this occurred is as follows:—One Talago, who possessed a charm capable of causing the earth to divide, coming to a well-known spot cried, 'Rock, divide, I am Talago, come to work.' The earth separating at his command, he went down to cultivate his taro-patch. His son, whose name was Tiitii, became acquainted with the charm, and watching his father, saw him descend and the earth close after him. At the same spot Tiitii cried, 'Rock, divide, I am Talago, come to work.' The rock did not open; but on repeating the words and stamping his foot violently, the earth separated and he descended. Being a

* Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, vol. ii. p. 131.

young man, he made a great noise and bustle, notwithstanding the advice of his father to be quiet, lest Mafuie should hear him. The son then asked, 'Who is Mafuie, that I should be afraid of him?' Observing smoke at a distance, he inquired the cause of it. Talago said, 'It is Mafuie heating his oven.' Tiitii determined to go and see, notwithstanding all the persuasions of his father, and met Mafuie, who inquired who he was. 'Are you a planter of taro, a builder, or a twister of ropes?' 'I am a twister of ropes,' said Tiitii, 'give me your arm and I will shew you.' So, taking the arm of Mafuie, he twisted it off in a moment. Such a practical illustration of his powers made Mafuie cry out, 'Na fia ola, na fia ola!' I desire to live, I desire to live! Tiitii then took pity on him and let him go. The natives on feeling an earthquake exclaim, 'thanks that Mafuie has but one arm; if he had two he would shake the earth to pieces.'"

The god Salefu supports the earth. They have likewise Merua Fuana, Tinitini, Lamamau, who are gods of lightning, rain, whirlwinds, &c. These gods are said to reside on an island to the westward, from which quarter their bad weather usually comes. They had likewise many inferior gods who watched over particular districts. These various gods owned certain animals, reptiles, fish, and birds. In some few districts inanimate objects were worshipped, thus:—A branch of bamboo, with a bunch of coco-nut fibres tied on the top, was worshipped in Mauono. They also had carved blocks of wood and stone erected in memory of dead chiefs, which they worshipped.

The account they give of the creation of their island is as follows:—Tangaloa, their great god, who lives in the sky, sent down the bird Tuli, (a kind of snipe,) his daughter, to see what was below. She reported to her father that she saw nothing but sea. Tangaloa then rolled a stone from heaven, which became the island of Savaie, and another which produced Upolu, and the same for the others.

This did not suit Tuli, who returned to ask for inhabitants. He gave her orders to plant the wild vines (fuefue), which after growing were ordered by him to be pulled up and thrown into heaps, from which worms were produced. Then

it was desirable that they should become human. Spirits were accordingly sent to them by Tuli, and the worms became man and woman."

"Their notions of a future existence are quite vague. They believe, however, in a happy future state, where every thing good is provided. Some say that it is on their own island, others in distant islands, and for the chiefs at the residence of the gods on Polotu, an island to the westward. They also believe that the spirit goes there immediately after death; that in these places it never rains; that they eat and drink there without labour, and are waited upon by the most beautiful women, who are always young, or, as a chief expressed it to one of our officers, 'whose breasts never hang down.'"

"The spirits, according to their belief, often come down to wander about at night around their former dwellings. Some spirits are believed to die, while others are immortal. Some dwell in subterranean abodes, and are eaten by the gods. Some persons believe that after death they become "aitus" or inferior gods."

"They believed in many omens, which were carefully watched. If the black stork, called matuu, flew before them on a war expedition in the direction they were going, they deemed it betokened success, but if in any other direction it was an ill omen. If a dim moon, or very bright starlight, or comet were observed, it always indicated the death of a chief; and a rainbow was a sign of war. The squeaking of rats was an unfortunate omen. Sneezing was also considered unlucky; if any one of a party sneezed on a journey, their future progress was postponed."

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE NATIVES OF THE MICRONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

SECTION I.—*Geographical Situation: Reason for adopting the Name: Questions relative to the Origin of the People.*

LATE writers on the geography of the Oceanic regions have proposed to divide the Pacific into several departments, to which they have assigned different names.* One or two of these divisions will be especially useful in aid of my present attempt, which is to afford my readers a clear view of the relations of tribes and races in the Great Southern Sea.

Micronesia, or the Micronesian Archipelago, is a designation given to a space in the ocean interspersed with islands of small extent. It comprehends the western part of the Northern Pacific,—in other words, a great tract of that ocean lying to the northward of the equator, and between that line and the northern tropic, and in longitude included between the meridian of the Fíjí islands and the extreme border towards the ocean of the Philippine Archipelago and the insular empire of Japan. Within these limits Micronesia comprehends the groupe of the Ladrones or Marian Isles to the northward, and nearer to the equator all those clusters of islands lying under the same parallel of latitude, which in recent times have been comprised under the name of the Caroline Archipelago.

All the Micronesian islands are, as the name implies, of small extent. Guahan, or Guam, in the Marian or northern

* Such as Malaisie, meaning the Malayan islands or the Indian Archipelago, Papouasie, Melanésie, Micronesie. See M. de Rienzi, Bulletin de la Société Geogr. de Paris, tom. xvii. 1832.

groupe, Pouynipet in the Caroline, and Babelthouap in the cluster of the Palaos or Pelew Islands, are the largest. The Marian Islands were the first in these seas that became known to Europeans: they were termed by the Spaniards "Islas de los Ladrones," or "Islands of Robbers." These islands were discovered by the first circumnavigator of the globe, the celebrated Magalhaens, and are described by Pigafetta, the companion of his adventures. Other voyagers, chiefly Spanish commanders, landed on the same islands in the following years, among whom were Antonio de Saavedra and Miguel Lopez de Legaspi. The name of the groupe was afterwards changed to that of the Marian Isles. To the southward of the Marian Isles are situated the Caroline Islands, the most southerly of the Marian groupe, being not many leagues distant from the most northern of the Caroline. The Caroline Archipelago was discovered by the Portuguese Captain Diego da Rocha in 1526. Several clusters of islets in the same seas were soon afterwards explored by Saavedra. Drake in 1579 anchored to the southward of the island of Yap, which he termed the "Isle of Thieves." In the year 1686 the name of the Caroline Islands was given to all that part of the Great Archipelago already discovered, in honour of Charles II., king of Spain. The Spaniards had previously colonised the Marian Islands, and they apparently meditated the acquisition of the Carolines. This last name has been gradually extended in its meaning, and made to comprehend all the numerous islands and clusters of islands discovered since the period above mentioned within the space reaching from the Palaos or Pelew Islands in the west inclusively to the chain of Radak and the Marshall and Gilbert Isles of English maps in the east. The Marian and the Caroline groupes taken together comprise between them the whole Micronesian Archipelago.*

The principal object for thus separating this archipelago from the rest of Polynesia is to set forth a distinction which has been the occasion of some controversy. A certain

* I shall still use the term Caroline Archipelago as an inclusive name for the Caroline groupes collectively, though they constitute but a part o the Micronesian Archipelago.

difference has been noted between the Micronesians and the Polynesians in general. M. Dumont d'Urville and M. Lesson have drawn a very strong line of separation between these two classes of Oceanic tribes. The former are regarded by M. Lesson as an entirely different race from all the other nations of the Pacific. They are termed by him Pelagian Mongoles, and considered as belonging to the Mongolian race of high Central Asia. The grounds of this opinion will come before my readers in the sequel. At present I shall only cite, in opening this question, the statement of Dumont d'Urville, which is founded on the observation of certain differences of features and of language, or at least of dialect, between the tribes of the north-western Pacific and the nations of Oceanica, whose history we have already surveyed.

In a memoir presented to the Geographical Society of Paris in 1832 on the islands of the Great Ocean and their inhabitants, M. d'Urville lays down in the first place the division of native tribes into two great families, which he designates and describes as other writers have done under the names of the Black and Tawny races. He says: " Nous considérons la race noire comme celle des véritables indigènes, au moins de ceux qui ont occupé les premiers le sol d'Océanie. Les hommes d'un teint plus claire appartiennent à une race de conquérans, qui, provenant de l'ouest, se repandit peu à peu sur les îles de l'Océanie, et y fonda successivement des colonies plus ou moins considérables. Souvent elle expulsa ou réduit complêtement les premiers possesseurs du sol; d'autrefois les deux races vécurent ensemble en bonne intelligence, et leurs posterités se confondirent par des unions multipliées.* Enfin il peut arriver que les étrangers trouvèrent

* It may be allowed me to make the following queries by way of comment on these observations. In those islands whence the black 'autochthones' have been completely expelled, what proof have we of their former existence? and what islands in the Southern Ocean can be mentioned where the Papuas or other black savages and the tawny race live together in the friendly intelligence which M. Dumont d'Urville predicates? Generally the Papua race is entirely distinct from the Polynesian; in some instances a few Papuas are found among them in a state of slavery. No voyager has mentioned a particular spot where they are blended on the friendly footing here described. The

la place encore vacante. De là cette foule de nuances diverses qui caracterisent les habitans de chaque archipel, sans compter celles qui ont eu pour causes les climats, les habitudes, le régime alimentaire, en un mot, toutes les circonstances dues aux diverses localités."

M. d'Urville then proceeds to draw a very strong line between what he terms two divisions of the first race, differing in this respect from M. Lesson that he regards them as separate branches of one stock, and not as entirely distinct families. All the tribes, he says, which occupy the islands of the eastern Pacific, from Hawaii to New Zealand in one direction, and from Tonga and Hamoa to Easter Island, form one family. The colour of the skin, the features of the countenance, and the shape of the body have among these tribes clearly marked resemblances, and the language of the several races is almost the same. Other characteristics common to all these nations are the superstition of the Tabú, the custom of drinking kava, and the ignorance of bows and arrows. They were all governed by regulated institutions, and had among them numerous castes and privileged orders, a pompous religion with priests and solemn sacrifices.

The second division of the tawny race comprehends the tribes who are spread through immense spaces occupying the cluster called the Kingsmill islands, those of Gilbert, Marshall, the Carolines, the Marian isles, and all the other groupes as far as the Pelew Islands inclusively. " Ces insulaires diffèrent principalement des Océaniens de l'orient par une couleur un peu moins foncée, par un visage plus effilé, des yeux moins fendus, et des formes plus sveltes. Ils paraissent aussi étrangers au tapou (tabú). La langue varie d'un archipel à l'autre, et diffère complêtement de celle qui est commune aux nations de l'autre division.* Les seuls

sole foundation of this system of facts taken for granted is the discovery in every part of the Indian Ocean of considerable diversity in physical character, and of a lower caste, who approximate to the description of the aborigines. For this phenomenon a different explanation has been assigned, as we have seen, by all English voyagers.

* On this remark respecting the diversity of language M. d'Urville's expression imports more than is true, or at least more than has been established.

traits de conformité entre les deux divisions sont la distribution de la société en castes, l'absence de l'arc et des flêches pour armes offensives, et l'usage du kava sur quelques îles, mais dans celles de l'occident le kava est remplacé par le betel et l'arek."*

These observations will suffice to make my readers acquainted with a disputed question connected with the Micronesian islanders, and the relations between them and the Polynesian tribes. I shall now proceed to the description and history of the Micronesians, and shall then return to the inquiry regarding their origin and affinity to the Polynesians with better data for a definite conclusion on the subject.

Section II.—*General Survey of the Caroline Archipelago.*

The Caroline Archipelago has been reckoned by late writers as extending from the Palaos or Pelew Islands eastward as far as the chain of Radak, which is named in modern maps the groupe of Marshall and Mulgrave Islands. There seems to be no reason for excluding from it the extensive groupe of the Tarawan or Gilbert's Islands, which is almost continuous with that of Radak. By this wide acceptation of the term the Caroline Archipelago will be made to extend 1030 leagues from west to east. In latitude it will extend about 18 degrees from the northernmost of the Radak isles to the southernmost of the Tarawan groupe.

M. de Freycinet, who traversed the Caroline Archipelago and spent a considerable time in the neighbouring groupe of the Marian Islands, has given us much valuable information respecting the different clusters which compose this archipelago. He has followed in his enumeration of these islands the geographical division of Father Cantova, who arranged the whole under six groupes. The later discoveries of the Russian commander Lütké and other recent navigators require some additions to this classification. A connected account of

* Notice des Iles du Grand Océan lue à la Société Géographique de Paris dans la Séance du 5 Janv. 1832.

these discoveries is to be found in the geographical work of M. de Rienzi, himself an enterprising navigator. Since the publication of Rienzi's work new information has been acquired by the conductors of the American Exploratory Voyage. The following pages will afford my readers a brief statement of the sum of geographical knowledge obtained from these different sources.

Tracing the divisions of the Caroline Archipelago from west to east, we find them divided into the following groupes. In each of them I shall mention the principal islands and give some notices of the inhabitants.

1st. Western Groupe. Palaos or Pelew Islands, and other clusters nearly in the same longitude.

This division of the Caroline Archipelago comprehends the Palaos of Spanish navigators, or the Pelew Islands, well known from the history of the shipwreck of the Antelope; also the cluster of the Matelotas, Katrikan, Johannes, and Kadokopoué; the islands of Saavedra; of Sonsorol, probably the most westerly of the whole archipelago; the isles of Mortz, Kyangle, and Lord North; and the isle of Martyrs of the Spanish navigators. The principal islands of the groupe are Corror, Babelthouap, and Péléliou. Corror was the residence of the king Abba Thulle.

The Pelew Islands, when they were explored by the English under Captain H. Wilson, who, however, were not the first discoverers, contained no quadrupeds except rats and a few cats, but was covered with woods in which were the ebony tree, the wild bread-fruit tree, the sugar cane, the citron, orange-tree, banana, and many other productions of tropical climates. The general character of the Pelew islanders seems to be well known from the interesting but rather highly coloured history of their hospitable king, who entertained the English shipwrecked on the island of Corror, and the young prince Lee-Boo, who accompanied the captain on his return to England. In their principal characteristics they are described as nearly resembling the Polynesian nations.

2nd Groupe. Cluster of Yap.

The second groupe consists of the Caroline Islands properly so termed. These were the islands first visited by Fathers Cantova and Walter on their mission from the Marian island of Guahan, in 1731. This section of the archipelago comprehends, according to De Freycinet, the isle of Yap or Gouap, forty leagues in circumference, the isles of Philip, Hunter, the groupe of Lamoliao-Ourou, in which is the isle of Nolog.

3d Groupe. Ouluthian or Egoy Islands.

The third groupe has been called the isles of Egoy, from the name, as it is said, of the Spanish commander. Lütké, the Russian commander, who surveyed this cluster, has given them the name of Ouluthy, which appears to be the native appellation.

The Ouluthian groupe of islands comprises Lothoou, Fataray, Falalep, Patangaras, Ear, Khielap, Mogmog, Losieppe, and Eoa. They are chiefly small islands.

4th Groupe.

The fourth groupe reaches, according to De Freycinet, through ten degrees of longitude, viz. from 140° to 150° E. L. from Paris, under the 5° N. L. The islands comprised in it are the cluster of Lamoursek, ten islets forming a particular "atollon;" Satahouel, Mongrak, Ifelouk, Elats and Goulimano, and Gouliay. This last is an "atollon" of more than twenty islands, the largest of which gives its name to the groupe. Aouroupig to the southward and Faroilep to the northward belong to this section or province of the archipelago.

5th Province, or Central Groupe of the Caroline Islands.

This division of the archipelago is of great extent: it reaches through 14 degrees of longitude. It comprises the largest and most important islands of the whole region, as the Isle of Ualan, the Isles of Brown, those denominated Arecifas, Cesbobas, Tegou, De la Passion, San Augustin, and Basse-Triste, the isles of Lugulos and Monte-Verde, Rouk, Torres, Hogoleu, and others.*

The island of Ualan was seen by earlier navigators, but was first visited by Duperrey in 1824, and was carefully explored by Lütké. It is one of the elevated islands like Yap, Hogoleu, and Pouynipet, and differs in many respects from the low and flat islands. The people of Ualan are much advanced in civilisation and are distinguished for their modesty, reserve, and chastity. They have towns and villages surrounded by walls and built in regular streets, and in many respects are more similar to the European nations than most of the Polynesians. But they are almost entirely naked. A curious trait is that they are all phthirophagi, and expressed the greatest astonishment at the disgust which this habit excited in the prejudiced Russians. Their moral character is very favourably described by Lütké. "Ils ne connaissent point les grands mouvements de l'âme; ils ne déchirent pas leur peau avec des dents de requin pour manifester un chagrin qui l'instant après est oublié; mais un visage sombre et les yeux baissés montrent l'état de leur âme. Dans la joie ils ne vont pas jusqu'aux transports; mais ils le manifestent par des embrassements et des éclats de rire. Ils ne viennent point à la rencontre d'un inconnu avec des branches de palmier ou tout autre signe de paix, parce qu'ils ne connaissent pas d'autre état que l'état de paix. Dès le premier instant ils préviennent en leur faveur par une gaieté franche, et par une confiance enfantine et inaltérable."

The following smaller clusters may perhaps be comprised

* M. de Rienzi identifies Rouk with Hogoleu.

in this section of the Caroline Archipelago:—the islands of Macaskill, viz. three small low woody islands; Pelilap, Toagouloa, and Takaï; the islands of Duperrey; the isles of Namoulouk discovered by Lütké; the isles of Mourileu discovered by Hall; the isles of Faieou, Onooup; the isles of Lougounor or Mortlock, the Lougoullos of Don Luis de Torres.

The natives of Lougounor are particularly described by Lütké. It would appear that they are of the same race as the natives of Ualan, since there is a near affinity in their languages.* The following are the chief particulars in the description given of them by Captain Lütké.

"La taille des Lougounoriens parut au savants naturalistes du Séniavine généralement au-dessus de la moyenne, leur structure forte et bien prise, la couleur de leur corps châtaine. Ils ont le visage plat, le nez aplati par le haut et relevé par le bout, les lèvres épaisses, les dents unies et saines, les yeux grands, noirs, saillants, quelquefois animés, mais la plupart sans expression. La barbe chez quelques-uns est passablement longue, mais rare; leurs cheveux noirs, longs et épais, un peu crépus, sont rassemblés quelquefois en paquets sur la nuque et attachés avec la fronde. Ils enfoncent dans ce chignon un peigne à trois dents, sur le haut duquel flottent deux ou trois plumes de la queue du phaeton: d'autres fois la chevelure reste éparse et forme une énorme frisure, comme chez les habitants de la Nouvelle Guinée. Leur ceinture, qu'on appelle *tol* comme à Ualan, est un morceau de tissu d'environ six pouces de large, passant de derrière par devant entre les cuisses, et qui

* It appears probable from a comparison of the language of Lougounor with that of Ualan, that the people of these two smaller clusters are allied. Lütké gives the following account.

"La langue des Lougounoriens est beaucoup plus difficile à prononcer que l'Ualanaise, et n'est pas aussi agréable à l'oreille.

"Malgré la peine que prirent les officiers du Séniavine, ils ne purent recueiller que peu de mots, et dans ce petit nombre ils se trouvent jusqu'à vingt expressions rélatives aux idées ou aux choses les plus ordinaires, qui sont ou absolument les mêmes ou pour le moins très ressemblantes chez les deux peuples, et prouvent une même origine."

diffère de celui des Ualanais en ce qu'il n'a point de sachet. Ils jettent sur leurs épaules une espèce de manteau, semblable au puncho de l'Amerique du Sud, ou à la chasuble d'un prêtre catholique, comme les habitants des îles Séniavines."

The Russian navigator gave to a groupe of islets near the great isle of Pouynipet the name of "Iles Séniavines." Pouynipet is supposed to be the Faloupet of Father Cantòva. Its circuit is 50 miles, and the summit of its central mountain is 2,930 feet in height. It consists of volcanic rocks, and is covered with woods and rich verdure. The population of the island was supposed to amount to 2,000 souls. They are a people of different habits and character from the Ualanians, and are supposed by Lütké to be Papuas. The following is the description given by that writer of their physical characters.

"Les Pouynipètes ont le visage large et plat, le nez large et écrasé, les lèvres épaisses, le cheveux crépus; chez quelques-uns de grands yeux, saillants, exprimants la défiance et la férocité; leur joie est de l'emportement et de l'extravagance; un rire sardonique continuel, et leurs yeux errants en même temps de tous côtés sont loin de leur prêter de l'agrément. Je ne vis pas un seul visage d'une gaieté paisible; s'ils prennent quelque chose dans leurs mains, c'est avec un certain mouvement convulsif, et dans la ferme intention de ne pas lâcher prise tant qu'il y aura possibilité de résister. La couleur de la peau de ces hommes turbulents est d'une nuance entre la châtaine et l'olive; ils sont d'une taille moyenne et bien faits; ils paraissent être forts; chacun de leurs mouvements annonce la résolution et l'agilité. Leur vêtement consiste en un court tablier bigarré, fait d'herbes, ou de lames d'écorce, de bananier séchée, qui, s'attachant à la ceinture, descend jusqu'à moitié cuisse, comme chez des habitants de Radak."

6th Groupe. Ralik and Radak Chains.

The furthest towards the east and the central regions of the Pacific of all the groupes of islands comprehended in the Caroline Archipelago are the two nearly parallel chains

termed by Father Cantova, and after him by De Freycinet, the chains of Ralik and Radak, names derived from the designations given by the native people to these islands. In most maps this groupe, or at least the eastern chain, is named Marshall and Mulgrave Islands. The islands called Brown's range are sometimes referred to the groupe of Ralik.

It was in this chain that the Russians who accompanied Kotzebue found the intelligent voyager Kadou, who has been termed the Polynesian Ulysses, and whose curious recitals have been read with great interest. According to information given by Kadou the same people inhabit the Ralik and the Radak chains.

7th Groupe. Tarawan Islands.

To the south-eastward of the last-mentioned chains is the great cluster or groupe properly termed, from the appellation given by the natives to one of the principal islands, the Tarawan groupe. It is so designated by the late American navigators. In many maps this groupe has the name of Gilbert Islands, and parts of it are termed Kingsmill and Scarborough Islands.

The Tarawan islands are situated nearly under the equator, some of them a little to the northward and others southward of the line. Fifteen islands are enumerated by the writer of the Exploring Voyage as belonging to this cluster. They are as follows. 1. Maraki, named in maps Matthews' Island. 2. Makin and Taritari, Pitt's Island. 3. Apia, Charlotte's Island. 4. Tarawa, Knox's Island. 5. Maiana, Hall's Island. 6. Apamame, Hopper's Island. 7. Kuria, Woodle's Island. 8. Namouki, Henderville's Island. 9. Namouti, Sydenham's Island. 10. Tapateouka, Drummond's Island. 11. Peru, Francis's Island. 12. Nakanan, Byron's Island. 13. Ararai, Hurd's Island. 14. Tamana, Phœbe. 15. Onontea, Rotcher's Island.

Before I proceed to the description of the Tarawan people, I may observe that the navigators to whom we owe this

account had previously visited on their way from the Samoan Archipelago, islands forming the intermediate groupe of Ellice's Islands. There they found people "who understood the Samoan language, and spoke a pure Polynesian dialect." "They were in general appearance inferior to the Samoans, of middle size and deep brown complexions, like the Hawaiians, whom they were thought also to resemble in their features; but they were well provided with beards, in which respect they resembled the Feejees. They were tattooed differently from any heretofore seen."

The Tarawan people had a distinct tradition of the first peopling of their groupe of islands. The first inhabitants arrived in two canoes from Barness or Baneba, an island which, they say, lies to the south-west. Afterwards two other canoes came from an island to the southward, which they term Amoi. The latter were better-looking people than the others, and spoke a different language. For some generations the two races lived together in peace, but at length the Baneba people killed the Amoi men and took their wives.

The people of this groupe differ in their personal traits from the Polynesians, and more nearly resemble the Malays. Their colour is a dark copper, a shade or two deeper than the Tahitian complexion; they are of the middle size, well-made and slender; their hair is fine, black, and glossy; the nose slightly aquiline, but a little broad at its base; the mouth is large, with full lips and small teeth; the cheek-bones project forward so as to give the eyes the appearance of being sunken. Their average height is about 5 feet 8 inches.

They are divided into three classes, chiefs, landholders, and slaves.

A great and marked distinction between these natives and the Polynesians is the absence of the system of Tabu, or any laws of prohibitions from the priests, supposed to emanate from their gods. Their religion is simple, but peculiar to them. They believe in a future state, and that souls go to Kainakake or elysium after death. They have no kind of intoxicating drink.

The population of this archipelago is, as far as it could be

numbered, about 60,000 souls. In Drummond's Island there were about 6000. The people of the Pitt Island, which is hardly one of the groupe, differ greatly from the other islanders.

It must be observed that the inhabitants of the island of Makin are excepted from the description given of the natives of other islands in this groupe. "They differ so much in appearance from the others that were it not for their manners, customs, and language, they could not be classed among the same race." "Wood, a seaman, who had lived a long time in this archipelago, accounted for the difference in appearance by their being at all times abundantly supplied with food and living an inactive life, with nothing to disturb their peace, which has continued unbroken for upwards of a century. They have from this cause become indolent. Their colour is a shade lighter than that of the other islanders in this groupe, their stature taller, and their whole frame much larger: their limbs are full and well-rounded: their bodies are as smooth as a child's; their features oval, and more regular and delicate than those of the natives of the southern islands of the same groupe."*

SECTION III.—*General Survey of the Marian Archipelago.*

The following is the geographical description of these islands given by M. de Freycinet, whose account of this archipelago is one of the most elaborate portions of his work.

The Marian Islands, situated in the northern part of the great equinoctial ocean, about 400 leagues to the east of the Philippines, extend north and south from the 13° 10′ to the 20° 30′ of lat., and in longitude reach only 1° 17′.

Seventeen islands or groupes of islets compose this archipelago, the largest of which are Goam, or Guaham, the capital, Saypan, Rota, and Tinian. The others are Agoigau, Farallon de Medinilla, Anataxan, Langoan, Farallon de

* Exploring Voyage, vol. v. p. 83.

Torres, Gogoan, Mangs, a little groupe, Assomption, Oracas or Urai, a desert island, Farallon de Paxaros, a groupe of rocks.

According to the geological observations of M. Gaudichaud and M. de Freycinet, several of the Marian Islands have been originally formed by the action of submarine volcanos, which, having elevated the bottom of the sea, have at length raised mountains and plains above its surface. The proofs of this theory are the madrepores, shells and silicious ursines, which are discovered on the summits of the mountains in the islands of this chain. The sea has subsequently accumulated at the base of these mountains calcareous beds mixed with the detritus of madrepores. As soon as circumstances favourable to organic life existed, vegetation became first developed. Few countries in the world now produce a greater abundance and variety of plants serviceable to mankind. There are many species of breadfruit tree, of palms, of bananas, ignamas, as well as rice and maize, the coco-nut and areca-nut trees, and the cyca, a palm producing an excellent fecula. The dogdog and the rima bearing delicious fruits are likewise among the indigenous stock, to which the Spaniards have added many exotics, the orange, citron, the mango, the guava, and the grape.

Animals likewise have multiplied in these islands, but the original stock comprehended no large quadruped. The Spaniards, soon after their settlement, introduced the stag, the hog, the goat, the horse, and the ass, which have run wild in the woods, while tame herds are fed on the pastures of the colonists. The dog called galago by the natives, which means "foreign animal," is also of exotic extraction. Dogs run wild in the forests, as well as cats, called by the islanders gheto from the Spanish geto. Rats and mice are said to have been the only quadrupeds of whose introduction from without no traces can be found, and these as elsewhere were very numerous and troublesome. A species of gallinaceous bird named *sesnget* was domesticated by the native inhabitants. La Pérouse termed it megapode for its long feet. The European gallinaceous fowls are found in the Marian Islands. Their

name, which is *manak*, a Tagala word, indicates importation from the Philippines.*

SECTION IV.—*Brief Outline of the History of the Marian and Caroline Islands.*

The Spanish writers describe the people of the Marian Islands previously to their conquest as barbarians who worshipped the bones of their ancestors, keeping them in their houses and anointing them with coco-nut oil. The islands are said to have abounded at this time with rice and fruits: no quadrupeds were to be seen in them either tame or wild. The inhabitants were wonderfully expert in swimming, and passed so much time in the water that they seemed to be almost amphibious. According to Gaspar and Grijalva their houses were lofty and divided into apartments, the whole raised a story from the earth and supported upon pillars of stone—"fundadas sobre fuertes pilares de piedra." Besides these dwelling-houses they had others for their canoes, built likewise on large pillars of stone, one of which was capable of holding four of the largest canoes. This account is fully confirmed by the massive and almost colossal remains of buildings which have been found in the islands of Tinian and Rota.†

The people remained independent of the Spaniards till 1662, when F. Sanvitores, a Jesuit, was inspired with the desire of converting them to the Catholic religion. He obtained for this object the patronage of the queen of Spain, the consort of Philip IV., and a mission was established in the Marian Islands, and a church built in the principal town. The missionaries at first were successful and baptised many of the chiefs, but at length obstacles arose which had not been expected. The chiefs who had received baptism were indig-

* M. de Freycinet, Voy. autour du Monde, liv. iii. p. 270.

† Fray Gaspar, Conquista Temporal y Spiritual de las Islas Philipinas, and Fray Juan de Grijalva, cited by Captain Burney, History of the Discovery in the South Sea, vol. i., p. 252. Anson's Voyage round the World, and Dumont d'Urville, Voy. Pittoresque, vol. ii.

nant that the blessings connected with that rite should be participated by the inferior and servile classes. A more severe opposition was excited by the intrigues of a native of China, named Choco, who had been thrown by a tempest on the shore of one of the Marian Islands, and who had been a diligent propagator of idolatry before the arrival of the Spaniards. He succeeded in persuading many that baptism was a sort of magical rite which destroyed those who were subjected to it by some disease. The missionaries appear to have conducted themselves with the greatest mildness and forbearance, but their attempts to abolish the ancient superstition of the natives and to restrain their excessive debauchery gave rise to conflicts, in which the Christians, who acted merely on the defensive, suffered great losses, and the first missionaries gained the crown of martyrdom. Unhappily those who survived thought themselves obliged to take up arms for self-preservation, and to seek reinforcements from Spain. Troops were sent by the king of Spain, and the direction of affairs was entrusted to D. Juan de Quiroga, a man of enthusiastic zeal, who had spent a great part of his life in camps, and had given up the profession of arms to devote himself to the life of a hermit, when he felt an irresistible impulse to undertake the work of converting the Marian islanders. The whole groupe of islands was brought into subjection to Spain in 1699.

M. de Freycinet relates the history of this revolution without the least expression of censure in regard to the conduct of the missionaries, who probably were not to blame, while at the same time he gives us a candid statement of facts. The comparative population of the Marian Islands before and after the establishment of the Spanish authority among the islanders indicates a most calamitous diminution of numbers. It must be allowed that no means exist of making an accurate estimate of the original population. The older voyagers, however, describe the Marian Islands as very thickly inhabited, and from documents drawn from the archives of Guahan, De Freycinet found that the number of people in that island and in Tinian and Rota were supposed at the time of the Spanish settlement in 1668 to amount to somewhat

upwards of 50,000. On this he calculates that the whole groupe contained 73,000 at the same era. But after the war which took place between the Spaniards and the natives in 1710, the native population had been reduced to 3,539, and in 1722 it was found by census to be 1,985.

War with its inevitable consequences and accompaniments was probably the principal agent in this prodigious decrease in the numbers of the Marian islanders, but it appears from M. de Freycinet's local inquiries that another cause had also a share in bringing about so remarkable a result. The people who found themselves involved in hostilities with the Spaniards, despairing of the event, and strongly attached to their old superstitions and the vices to which the Polynesian races are so peculiarly addicted, are supposed to have escaped in great numbers to other islands. The Egoy Islands, a part, as we have seen, of the Caroline Archipelago, afforded the nearest and the most accessible place of refuge, and the retirement of the Marian people, exasperated against the Spaniards and the missionaries to whom they ascribed their misfortunes, to that groupe, may very probably be considered as one cause of the aversion which the inhabitants of those islands afterwards manifested towards the Europeans and the propagators of Christianity who attempted to settle among them.

The first efforts to found a mission in the Carolines appear to have been more strictly on religious grounds, and for the simple purpose of spreading Christianity, than the attempts of which we have given an account in the Marian Archipelago. Pope Clement II. induced the king of Spain to establish this mission, and several ecclesiastics embarked for the Philippines for that purpose in 1708. The enterprise was placed under the joint direction of the Archbishops of Mexico and Manilla. Though undertaken under auspices so promising, the enterprise met with a most unfortunate result, as did a second attempt in which Father Cantova fell a martyr. He was slaughtered by the natives, who attacked him while administering the sacrament of baptism to an adult who had been converted, and accusing him of a design to subvert the ancient customs of their forefathers, put him to death. The Spaniards then abandoned the hope of gaining possession of

the Caroline Islands. In somewhat later times many islands of the archipelago have been visited by English navigators and have obtained English names. The Pelew Islands, the Palaos of the Spaniards, are well known by the description of Captain Wilson. The names of Gilbert, Marshall, Mulgrave, Arrowsmith, Peddar, Byron, Pitt, Daniels, Ibbetson, Calvert, Chatham, and many others, have already been mentioned. It would have been better to have preserved the old names given by the inhabitants to particular islands.

SECTION V.—*Ethnographical Characters of the Micronesian Islanders.*

Paragraph 1.—Of the different Castes of the Marian Islanders.

The inhabitants of the Marian Islands, without constituting absolutely different races, are composed, as are other insular nations of the Pacific, of three different castes. Before the conquest these classes were kept distinct and held different stations in the community. They were termed respectively the Matoas or nobles, the Atchaóts or a half noble, and the Mangatchangs or plebeians.

M. de Freycinet has given the following account of the different traits of these castes.

"Ces derniers" (meaning the plebeians or Mangatchangs), "qu'on doit considérer comme les parias du pays, avoient une taille moins élevée que celle des autres habitans: ils ne pouvoient jamais sortir du rang social dans lequel ils étoient nés; la navigation sur mer leur étoit absolument interdite, ce qui explique pourquoi on plaçoit toujours parmi les nobles les étrangers qui abordoient sur ces rivages. Les Atchaots, au contraire, n'étant que déchus de leur noblesse par suite de quelque faute grave, pouvoient, après une réhabilitation convenable, reprendre leurs premiers titres: dans aucun cas cependant la degradation n'eut pu les faire déchoir au niveau de la populace.

"Les Matoas, véritables chefs du pays, avoient sous leurs

ordres les Atchaots et les Mangatchangs, et jouissoient de certains privilèges que nous ferons connaître ailleurs.

" Sous le rapport des occupations habituelles il existoit de nouvelles classifications des habitants. Au premier rang il faut placer les *makanas*, sorciers qui remplissoient une sorte de sacerdoce. Venoient ensuite les guérisseurs, ou plutôt les guérisseuses (éamtis): car presque tous étoient du sexe feminin: il y en avoit dans les diverses castes. Chaque éamti ne s'adonnoit à la cure que d'une seule espèce de maladie; ainsi les diverses branches d'infirmités naturelles ou fortuites, qui affligent l'espèce humaine, dislocation ou fracture des membres, blessures de tout genre, fièvres, dysenteries, indigestions, rhumes, &c. &c. comptoient autant d'empiriques spéciaux, dont on invoquoit l'assistance selon l'occasion. Quant à la pratique des accouchemens, elle étoit exclusivement devolue aux femmes. La profession de constructeur de pirogues appartenoit de droit aux Matoas, qui, attachant le plus grand prix à cette prerogative, mettoient un extrême amour propre à y faire preuve d'habilité. Les Atchaots étoient admis à les seconder dans cet important travail; mais des sévères réglemens empèchoient les Mangatchangs d'y prendre la moindre part. Les mêmes réserves avoient lieu pour la profession militaire et la pêche maritime: les deux castes privilegiées pouvoient seuls s'y livrer. Tous les nobles qui habitoient les bords de la mer étoient marins; mais en cas d'expedition lointaine les guerriers de l'interieur venoient se joindre aux premiers, et partoient avec eux dans leurs pirogues."

Paragraph 2. Moral Characteristics of the Marian Islanders.

The native people of the Marian Islands were termed by the Spaniards the " Chamorros." The original meaning of this name has been disputed and cannot be certainly known. It is not a proper native appellation of the people so called; nor is it known that they have any name belonging to their race, or any national proper name.

Le Gobien, who was well acquainted with the Marian islanders, has given the following account of them. He refers principally to the inhabitants of Guahan.

" Leur inconstance et leur légèreté sont incroyables. Comme ils ne se gènent en rien, et qu'ils se livrent aveuglément à leur caprice et à leurs passions, ils passent aisément d'une extremité à l'autre. Ce qu'ils souhaitoient avec le plus d'ardeur, ils ne le veulent point un moment après."

M. de Freycinet, who cites this statement, adds immediately some observations which indicate a firmer character.

" Humane after victory, and above all punctual to their word, they were only accustomed to require of a prisoner taken in war a simple verbal engagement not to escape: and whoever in such a case broke his parole was put to death by his own family, who fancied themselves covered with dishonour by such a breach of faith.

" When an old man says to one of his countrymen, or even to a stranger, ' I desire that we should be friends,' it is considered as a sacred contract. But if it happened that the latter acted against the interests of his friend, the whole family of the other became enemies of the person who had broken his faith. Whether the imputed wrongs be real or imaginary, it is in examining the affair in this point of view that we are enabled to explain the altercations between the people of the Marian Islands and the first missionaries. By atrocious calumnies the Chinese, Choco-Sangley, first rendered these courageous ecclesiastics objects of suspicion to a great number of the inhabitants. On the other hand the efforts of the Spaniards to restrain licentiousness and change certain customs at length excited against them the indignation of the same persons who had at first received them in the most favourable manner.

" To considerable intellectual endowments the old inhabitants of the Marian Islands joined great facility of receiving instruction, and aptitude both in manual employments and in the study both of letters and of fine arts.

" A few words will suffice to describe the modern inhabitants. ' Esprit plus paresseux qu'actif, gens simple, hospitalier, et généreux ; en général fort soumis à leur chef.'

" Parental affection is no where more strongly displayed or more active than by the Marian islander. Formerly he was allowed to have many concubines, all taken from the class to which he himself belonged; but he had only one lawful wife. It was strictly forbidden to the nobles not only to marry, but to take a concubine from the caste of the Mangatchangs. Some examples, nevertheless, are cited of the infraction of this rule. In such a case the Matoa who had been guilty of such an offence took care to conceal it from his family, who, had it been known, would not have failed to inflict capital punishment. The delinquent, in order to avoid persecution, had the alternative of renouncing his caste, and of passing in the quality of Achaot into another tribe. For the rest it is remarkable that the plebeian girl received no punishment. We were informed that since the arrival of the Spaniards at Guaham, a Matoa of the village of Guaton, being enamoured of a young and beautiful Mangatchang, took flight with her, but could find no asylum in any other tribe because he refused to separate himself from his companion. Pursued by the relatives of the young man, the two lovers wandered for some time in the midst of woods and the most inaccessible rocks. An existence so precarious and so miserable reduced them to despair. Resolved to put an end to it, they constructed a tomb in stone, where they laid an infant the miserable offspring of their love. In the extremity of grief they climbed to the top of a precipitous rock, and threw themselves into the waves. The place was named afterwards, by the Spaniards, Capo de los Amantes, Cape of Lovers."

Before marriage the greatest license existed between the two sexes; and according to the information afforded to M. de Freycinet, an almost promiscuous intercourse prevailed. It was by opposing this general corruption of manners that the Christian missionaries drew upon themselves the hostility of these islanders, which protracted for a long period their conversion, and fostered by the priests gave rise to long and destructive wars.

Paragraph 3.—Religious Ideas and Customs of the Marian Islanders.

The notions entertained by the Marian islanders in relation to the state of the dead, or of souls, and of the invisible agents, are more barbarous and *bizarres* than those of almost any other nation in the Oceanic countries; and we are almost inclined to suspect that they have been erroneously reported. The following, however, is M. de Freycinet's account.

"There is no word in the Marian language which is used to designate the Deity. This would lead us to suspect that the people had no idea of a Supreme Being; and Le Gobien thought he could venture to assert this fact positively.

"Voici néanmoins, selon le P. Miéville Velarèle et Don Luis de Torres, quelles étoient leurs idées sur l'origine du monde. Pontan, disent ils, homme très ingénieux, vécut un grand nombre d'années dans les espaces imaginaires qui existoient avant la création. A sa mort il chargea ses sœurs de faire avec sa poitrine et ses épaules le ciel et la terre, de ses yeux le soleil et la lune, et des ses sourcils l'arc-en-ciel.

"Ils reconnoissent l'immortalité de l'âme, et selon eux l'homme qui mourroit tranquillement et sans aucun douleur alloit en paradis, et jouissoit des arbres et des fruits, qui y sont en abondance; tandis que celui dont les derniers moments étoient violens et agités alloit en enfer, qu'ils appelloient Sassalagohau. Le diable portoit chez eux le nom de Kaïfi ou Aniti—mauvais esprit. Ils croyoient que si quelqu'un traversoit le pilier d'une maison, l'âme de celui qui l'avoit construite ne manqueroit pas de venir invisiblement tirer vengeance d'une telle action. Selon eux encore le diable se tenoit parmi les vivans et ne s'y occupoit qu'à faire du mal. Les âmes de leurs ancêtres, aux contraire, s'y opposoient, et venoient même à leur secours dans le danger.

"Il y avoient des âmes plus fortes que le démon, d'autres qui l'étoient moins. Les premières étoient celles des hommes vaillans et intrepides; les autres celles des paresseux et des lâches. Les femmes avoient aussi leurs âmes; mais on n'est

pas sur qu'on en accordât aux Mangatchangs. L'âme féminine étoit regardée comme moins forte et moins puissante que celle des hommes.

" La puissance qu'ils attribuoient aux Antis étoit considérable. Ils leur supposoient la faculté de changer l'ordre de la nature, d'empêcher la terre de produire, et la mer de donner des poissons. Des maux horribles se repandoient à leur gré parmi les hommes; mais il leur étoit facile de faire maître l'abondance et d'éloigner les maladies." Le Gobien says :— " C'est par la même raison qu'ils gardent une profonde silence dans leurs pêches, et qu'ils font des longues jeunes, pour que les Antis ne les maltraitent et ne leur font des terreurs dans leurs songes."

Their customs regarding the dead were very remarkable. De Freycinet says :—" Quand quelqu'un meurt on met une petite corbeille près de sa tête pour recueiller son esprit, et on le conjure, puisqu'il quitte son corps, de vouloir bien se placer dans cette corbeille your y faire dorénavant sa demeure, ou du moins pour s'y réposer quand il se donnera la peine de venir les voir.

" Ils font quelque repas autour du tombeau du defunct; car on élève toujours les tombeaux sur le lieu où le corps est enterré, ou du moins à coté. On le charge de fleurs, de branches de palmiers, de coquillages.

" A la persuasion de leurs Mahahnas les Mariannais gardoient respectueusement chez eux, dans des paniers, les os et les crânes de leurs ancêtres, ainsi que leurs figures, grossièrement gravées sur des écorces ou des morceaux de bois. Quelques uns préféroient de déposer ces ossemens dans des cavernes voisines de leurs démeures, et nommoient ces sortes de charniers, *goma alomsig*, ' maisons des morts.' "

Paragraph 4.—Physical Characters of the Marian Islanders.

The original race of the Marian islanders is every day becoming more and more intermixed with foreign blood, and it

is fortunate that we have from M. de Freycinet a satisfactory description of the genuine stock.

" La race aborigène est loin de former aujourd'hui la majorité de la population de ces îles. Elle n'en est pas même tout-à-fait la moitié : le reste se compose de colons d'origine Espagnole, de mêtis, de Philippinois et de leurs descendans; enfin d'un petit nombre de mulâtres, de Carolinois, et de Sandwichiens. Dans ce qui va suivre nous nous occupérons principalement de la population originaire.

" Jadis les Mariannais de la classe noble étoient généralement d'une taille gigantesque, d'une grosse corpulence, et d'une force bien supérieure à celle des Européens. Les hommes de la basse classe avoient des formes moins athletiques. Maintenant l'espèce dégénère à Goam : elle se conserve mieux à Rota, où de nos jours on trouve encore le véritable type des formes anciennes. L'embonpoint souvent excessive des individus ne nuisoit ni à l'élégance de leurs formes, ni à la souplesse de leurs mouvemens. Nageurs infatigables et plongeurs habiles, ils conservent encore ces qualités, comme celle de faire à terre rapidement de longues courses avec un lourd fardeau sur les épaules. Néanmoins leur nonchalance et la paresse ont toujours été le fond du caractère des habitants, au point de leur faire souvent négliger leurs interêts personnels.

" Dans leurs mœurs anciens un jeune homme qui cherchoit à se marier devoit montrer son adresse à grimper sur les arbres, son habilité à manœuvrer une pirogue, à cultiver la terre, &c. ; et, comme c'étoit un point d'honneur de réussir dans ces divers exercices, les hommes cherchoient à y exceller, et parvenoient, quand ils le vouloient, à acquérir une agilité surprénante.

" Quoiqu'il soit rare de trouver ici des gens contrefaits, les bossus et les boiteux n'y sont pas cependant sans example. On y voit des visages réguliers, et même de fort agréables : mais ce n'est pas le plus grand nombre, surtout chez les femmes ; j'en excepte toutefois les métisses, parmi lesquelles on rencontre et plus de grâce et plus de perfection dans les traits.

" La couleur des indigènes proprement dits est basanée,

tirant un peu sur le sombre sans être très foncée : leurs cheveux sont noirs et lisses. Les deux figures qui occupent le plan inférieur de notre planche 61 donneront, au reste, une idée exacte de la teinte de leur peau."

SECTION VI. — *Ethnographical Traits of the Caroline Islanders, with an Inquiry into the History and Relations of the Micronesian Islanders in general.*

We have a very imperfect knowledge of the native inhabitants of this archipelago. It appears most probable that they are all or nearly all of one race. It has been observed by M. Lesson in his account of Oualan, that the natives of that island, though separated by a distance of more than five hundred miles from the Pelew islanders, resemble the latter in every particular trait described by Wilson; and we learn from De Chamisso that the enterprising navigators of these seas are often transported by the monsoons from the isle of Lamoursek to the distant chain of Radak. These people are among the most mild and gentle of the Pacific Ocean. M. Lesson thought he perceived a striking resemblance between them and the natives of the Philippine Islands, of Mindanao, and of the Marian Islands, and a marked difference between all these and the Polynesian nations to the southward of the equator. He has given to the former the name of Pelagian Mongoles. As this distinction, if well founded, is important in ethnology, I shall extract M. Lesson's observations on the subject.

The Carolinians differ, he says, from the Polynesians in their bodily organisation and habits. The several groupes belonging to the family of Pelagian Mongoles are connected by common relations. They appear to have peopled successively the Philippine Islands, Mindanao, the Marian Islands, and thence the high lands of the Carolines, whence they passed to the long chain of low islands which stretch beyond, and finally to the archipelagos of Radak, Mulgrave, Gilbert, and Scarborough. M. Lesson thinks that these people have been erroneously confounded with the Polynesians, from

whom they are distinguished, according to him, by numerous characters. He supposes them to be a branch of the Mongolian race from the continent of Asia. This opinion, he says, is not original. It was long ago expressed by Father Le Gobien, who notices some trifling points of agreement between the Carolinians and the people of the Philippines :—

" Les autres se persuadent qu'ils sont sortis des Philippines et des îles voisines, parceque la couleur de leur visage, leur langue, leurs coutumes, et leur manière de gouvernement, ont beaucoup de rapport avec celles des Tagales, qui étoient les habitants des Philippines avant que les Espagnols s'en fussent rendus les maîtres." The same missionary on another occasion says that the natives of Guam, one of the Marian Islands, resembled the people of the Philippines, but had a different language.

In the numerous chains of islands which form the great Caroline Archipelago, slight shades of difference, according to M. Lesson, separate the native inhabitants, who resemble each other by the most striking traits of their general physiognomy and habits. The celebrated missionary Le Gobien thus described them :—" Ces insulaires sont basanés, mais leur teinte est d'un brun plus clair que celui des habitants des Philippines. Ils sont plus forts et plus robustes que les Européens. Leur taille est haute, et leur corps est bien proportionné. Quoiqu'ils se nourrissent de fruits et de poissons, ils ont tant d'embonpoint qu'ils en paroissent enflés : ce qui ne les empêche pas d'être souples et agiles. Ils vont nus. Les hommes se rasent la chevelure, et ne conservent sur le haut de la tête qu'une mèche, à la manière des Japonois. Leur langue a les plus grands rapports avec la Tagale des Philippines. Ils ont des histoires et une poésie qu'ils aiment beaucoup. Il y a trois états parmi ce peuple : la noblesse, le peuple, et une condition médiocre. La noblesse est d'une fierté incroyable ; elle tient le peuple dans un abaissement extrême. Les *chamorris*, c'est ainsi qu'on les nomme, ne veulent pas souffrir de mésalliance d'un membre de leur ordre avec quelqu'un d'un autre classe. Les canots dont ils se servent pour pêcher et pour aller d'une île à l'autre sont d'une légèreté surprénante, et la propreté de ces petits vaisseaux

ne déplairoit pas en Europe. Ils les calfatent avec une espece de bitume et de la chaux qu'ils détrempent dans de l'huile de coco."

M. de Chamisso, continues Lesson, in describing the inhabitants of the islands constituting his first province, has furnished an excellent picture of the entire population of the Carolines, and we cannot explain his omitting to remark the broad distinction that separates these people from the Polynesians properly so termed.

" Nous pensons que ses dialectes sont moins simples que ceux de la Polynésie orientale; et nous trouvons dans leurs habitants un ensemble de nations qui sont diversement liées par les mêmes arts et par les mêmes manières, par une grande habileté dans la navigation et dans le commerce. Ils forment des populations paisibles et douces, n'adorant aucune idole, vivant sans posséder d'animaux domestiques des bienfaits de la terre, et seulement offrant à d'invisibles dieux les prémices des fruits dont ils se nourrissent. Ils construisent les pirogues les plus ingénieuses, et font des voyages lointains à l'aide de leurs grandes connoissances des moussons, des courrants, et des étoiles. Mais, malgré les rapports frappants de ces diverses tribus, elles parlent plusieurs langues."

The principal argument for the descent of the Caroline islanders from the Mongoles is a supposed resemblance in the physical characters of these nations. The following is M. Lesson's description of the islanders.

" La physionomie des Carolins qui composent notre rameau *Mongol-Pélagien* est agréable; la taille des individus est communément moyenne; leurs formes sont bien faites et arrondies, mais petites: quelques chefs seuls nous ont paru d'une stature élevée. Leur chevelure est très noire, la barbe ordinairement grêle et rare, quoique cependant divers naturels nous l'aient montrée épaisse, rude, et touffue. Le front est étroit, les yeux sont manifestement obliques, et les dents très belles. Ils ont une certaine gravité dans le caractère, au milieu même de la gaieté des jeunes gens. Leur peau jaune citron est plus brune lorsqu'ils vivent sur les récifs non boisés, et beaucoup plus claire chez les chefs. Les femmes sont assez blanches, ont des formes potelées, et généralement

grasses ; le visage est élargi transversalement, le nez un peu épaté. Leur taille est courte, et les filles nubiles l'ont souvent très bien faite."

M. Lesson allows that the habits of the Carolinians resemble those of the Polynesians.

" Le genre de vie des Carolins, chez ceux dont les habitudes sont bien connues, diffère peu de celui des Océaniens. Ce sont les mêmes productions qui servent aux mêmes usages ; et sur les îles les plus fertiles le fruit à pain à châtaignes *(d. incisa,* var. *à semences),* le cocotier, le taro, et la pêche, en font tous les frais. Seulement ceux qui vivent sur les îles basses, où leurs moyens d'existence sont très restreints, sont obligés de racourir parfois aux fruits demi-ligneux du pandanus. Par-tout existe la méthode de cuire les aliments dans des fours souterrains, de composer des bouillies avec les bananes, la pulpe du rima, et le coco. Enfin nous retrouvâmes à Oualan l'usage de boire de l'ava après le repas ; mais cette boisson, nommée *schiaka,* au lieu d'être faite avec les racines du poivrier, comme chez les Océaniens, est obtenue des feuilles, qu'on broie avec une molette en pierre dans des vases en bois."

M. Lesson has by no means obtained a general assent to his opinion. The subject has been reconsidered by the naturalists who accompanied the Russian navigator, Captain Lütké. The account given by these writers of the natives of the Caroline Archipelago is as follows.

They observe that a great difference exists between the inhabitants of the high and of the low islands in this archipelago. In the elevated islands, excepting only the Isle of Ualan, the people are always engaged in war. In the low islands they are industrious cultivators of the soil.

These people are often comprehended under the general name of the Malayan race. A single glance, however, distinguishes them from the real Malays, that is, from the colonies of peninsular Malays settled on the coasts of the islands of the Indian seas. The following is the description given by these naturalists of their physical character.

" Les habitants sont beaux, bien proportionnés, plutôt maigres que gras, de taille moyenne, mais plutôt grands

que petits,—(the average stature is said to be 5 feet 10 inches)—ce qu'on supposeroit d'après les récits de plusieurs voyageurs modernes. Ils sont très actifs, et d'une physionomie agréable qui prévient extrêmement en leur faveur. La bonhommie est peinte dans tous leurs traits. Leur chévelure est épaisse et d'un beau châtain noir, très rarement rousse: leurs cheveux sont généralement attachés en un grand nœud. Ils ont le front très élevé, mais fuyant cependant en arrière: le nez prononcé, mais plat et large; la bouche assez grande; les lèvres épaisses; les dents blanches comme l'ivoire; les yeux bien fendus et garnis de superbes cils; les tempes comprimés; les pommettes *très peu saillantes,* avec une barbe assez souvent très épaisse, cependant plus généralement peu fournie." These last remarks indicate that the reported approximation to the Mongolian type is very imperfectly traced.

The same people were found, according to Captain Lütké, in all the small islands. The same kindness and gaiety of disposition every where prevailed. In one particular they appear to form a contrast to the Polynesian islanders in general, and particularly to the natives of the Marian Archipelago, to whom it is probable that they are most nearly allied, namely, in the modesty of the women, who are said to be remarkably chaste. They are by no means beautiful in person, but " plutôt laides, de fort petite taille, avec une figure large et la gorge pendante, lorsqu'à peine la première fraicheur est passée." They are nearly naked as well as the men.

The government of the Caroline islanders is monarchical according to Lütké. The chieftain has the title of Tamol. Disputes are settled by judges who are selected from the oldest men.

The Polynesian custom of the tabú prevails in these islands, but the name is different.

The moral traits characteristic of all the Polynesian islanders, their gaiety, fondness for pleasure, music, dancing, belong equally to the Carolinians.

They worship the spirits of the dead like the other islanders.

They have no kava, but make toddy, as M. Lütké says, from the palm-tree.

It appears from accounts given by the same navigator that in some islands of this archipelago there are Papuas, or people nearly resembling that race. He says that in the island of Seniavine, very near the Carolines, between 6° 43′ and 7° 6′ N. L. and in 201°, 202° W. L. from Greenwich, and in Pouynipet, the people resemble the Papuas, have broad flat faces, broad flattened noses, thick lips, crisp hair, large salient eyes, and an expression of defiance: the colour of their skin is between a chesnut and olive hue.

The following is Captain Lütké's conclusion as to the origin of the Caroline islanders.

" The inhabitants of the islands not only of the Caroline Archipelago properly so termed, but also of the groupe of Radak, and perhaps also of the Marian islands, as indicated by their languages, are the same people and branches of one stock. All those who have visited these islands are so far agreed, but there is some difference of opinion as to the source whence this stock was derived. Some, with Chamisso, regard them as the same Malayan race which peopled the eastern islands of Polynesia: M. Balbi has adopted this opinion. M. Lesson seems to be the only writer who has formed the notion that they were of a different race and a people of Mongolian origin. This hypothesis, which seems at first very improbable, is founded on some supposed resemblance between the islanders of the Caroline groupe, and particularly of the people of Ualan, and the northern Asiatics. In the opinion of M. Lesson the physical constitution of the islanders shews a marked approximation to the Mongolian type, particularly in the oblique position of the eyes, and in the clear yellow or citron colour of the skin. There are also in some of their customs and arts traces of Asiatic origin or of communication with Asia. The high prerogative of the chieftains, the oppression of the lower classes, their palpals or broad hats of Chinese form, the peculiar nature of the cloth which they manufacture, the use of the compass, and the mode of varnishing and ornamenting their canoes, are cited as instances."

Some of these observations afford unquestionable proof that the people of the Caroline Isles have derived some foreign improvements, and that foreign arts and customs have been introduced among them from China or Japan, or from some country bordering on the Indo-Chinese seas: against the inference which M. Lesson drew from such facts Captain Lütké has made the following objections.

He admits in part M. Lesson's observations on the physical character of the people. He says that M. Lesson made this remark chiefly among the natives of Ualan, to whom it is partially applicable. "We there remarked," he adds, "some individuals, as Nena, so often mentioned by us, who had narrow obliquely placed eyes: but the majority were of a different countenance, and among the females of Ualan we did not see one who had a Mongolian physiognomy. The chiefs lead a careless indolent life, and seldom expose themselves to the heat of the sun, or to cold or wind. Hence it is that their complexion is lighter than that of their vassals, whose chesnut colour differs in nothing from that of the people of Oceanica in general." But if the observation of M. Lesson is admitted in regard to Ualan, it cannot be extended to the natives of other islands in the archipelago. Their large salient eyes, their thick lips, their flat noses—nez retroussés—present a striking contrast to the Chinese and Japanese, and a strong resemblance to the physiognomy of the people of the Tonga and Sandwich Islands, a resemblance which extends to their whole exterior. The chesnut colour of their skin is not even concealed by the yellow powder with which they rub themselves, and by the effect of which he thinks M. Lesson may have been deceived. The noisy gaiety which they all manifest, and the equality which reigns among them, are much more Polynesian than Asiatic, and the very limited power of the *tamals* does not allow us to recognise in their political arrangements any trace of Mongolian servility. Their mode of weaving their cloth is quite different from that of the eastern Polynesians, and proves that they must have derived this art from some people further advanced in civilisation. But that people may have been of Indian, not of Mongolian stock. Their huts resemble the Chinese, and

may have been borrowed from the Chinese, but this would afford no proof that they are descended from that people.

"Had they descended from the Japanese, their language would display some traces of the speech of Nippon. But only two words were found by us in their vocabulary which bore any resemblance to the Japanese. Twenty were exactly or nearly like that of Tonga, and Kadou, who was born at Ouleaï, could converse quite easily with the Sandwich islanders after some days' intercourse with them." It is certain, according to Lütké, that the language of the Caroline Archipelago is a cognate dialect of the Polynesian, and of the same stock as the idiom of the Tonga, Tahitian, and Hawaiian islanders. Their pantomimic dances, the use of seka in the place of kava, various habits which resemble the Polynesian nations, and particularly the Tongans, their passion for long voyages, their observation of the stars, of lunar periods, their divisions of the horizon, are traits which tend strongly to confirm the same opinion. Captain Lütké concludes that all these indications prove an Indian, meaning probably a Malayan or Javan origin.

It appears evident that the Micronesian islanders are a branch of the Malayo-Polynesian stock, and that their manners have been modified by some foreign intercourse. It is probable that they are more nearly allied to the Tagalas and other races of the Philippines than to the Oceanic Polynesians, but many points in their history require further elucidation.*

* The late M. de Freycinet had prepared materials for a dictionary of the Marian language, which, if he had completed it, would have furnished ample means of comparing the idiom of this race with the Polynesian dialects. I have seen a part of this work in his hands some years ago, but I believe it has not been published. I may observe that by M. de Freycinet, whose published work contains some small specimens of it, the idiom of the Marian islanders was considered as allied to the Tagala, but as constituting a particular language having peculiarities greater than properly belong to a mere dialect. I believe the American voyagers have collected much information respecting the language of the Caroline Islands, which has not reached this country.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE MALAGASY OR MALECASSIAN NATIONS, OR NATIVE INHABITANTS OF THE ISLAND OF MADAGASCAR.

SECTION I.—*Geographical Survey of Madagascar and of the Subdivision of Provinces in that Island.*

THE island of Madagascar is particularly interesting in an ethnological point of view from the remarkable fact that it contains a colony of the same race of people who are spread so extensively over the Indian seas and the great Southern Ocean.

The great island of Madagascar is situated in the Indian, or rather the Indo-African Ocean, under the southern tropic, but principally to the northward of that line, reaching from 12° 12′ to 25° 45′ S. L., and lying in a direction parallel to the opposite eastern coast of Africa, from which it is separated by the channel of Mozambique, 85 leagues in breadth. The length of the island is estimated at 285 leagues, its mean breadth at 40 leagues, and its surface at 25,000 square leagues.* Mr. Ellis says that from its northern point, Cape Ambre, to its southern extremity, Cape St. Mary, Madagascar is in length about 900 miles, and that the breadth of the southern part of this island is about 300 miles, that of the middle part 400, while the northern part is considerably narrower.

Madagascar was discovered by the Portuguese in 1506, but it does not appear that any attempts were made by that enterprising people to colonise or possess any part of it. As

* Notice Statistique sur les Possessions Françaises à Madagascar. Paris. Imprimérie Royale, 1840.

early as 1642 the French began to direct their attention towards it, and to form plans for establishing settlements upon it, and in 1644 they founded Fort-Dauphin, which was their principal station, though they afterwards formed colonies or commercial establishments on several other parts of the eastern coast. To several French writers, Flacourt, the Abbé Rochon, and others,* we owe most of the information that had till lately been obtained respecting Madagascar. But the English missionaries who in the time of King Radama had access to the interior of the island had opportunities of acquiring much more extensive and accurate knowledge of the habits of the people and of their general history than any of those writers who preceded them.† Still the sum of our information respecting this island and the tribes of people who inhabit it is extremely imperfect.

Madagascar is divided by chains of mountains which traverse nearly its whole breadth. The summits of the highest of these mountains reach the elevation of 8,000 or 12,000 feet above the level of the sea.‡ From a high plateau which occupies the central parts of the island and leaves on each side a low maritime region of nearly equal extent, several broad rivers descend, which abound with fish, as the Moanandava, the Mananzari, the Manangara, the Andevoarante, and the Mangouroa, which flows from the lake Antsianake, 25 leagues in circumference.

All the fruits of the equatorial regions of India flourish in Madagascar, and it possesses besides a great number which are peculiar to the island. Some European vegetables succeed very well on its soil. Rice is there collected in abundance in the marshy tracts, and forms the basis of the food of the natives, who find besides a great supply of provision in their numerous herds of oxen, in the game and fish which abound in their woods and rivers and bordering seas.§

* Histoire des Iles de Madagascar, par le Sieur Flacourt, Paris, 1661. A Voyage to Madagascar and the East Indies, by the Abbé Rochon, 1 vol. 8vo., translated, Lond. 1792.

† Ellis's History of Madagascar, vol. ii. 8vo. London.

‡ Ellis, ubi supra.

§ Notice Statistique, &c.

Paragraph 2.—Provinces of Madagascar.

Madagascar is divided into several provinces, which appear to have been originally so many kingdoms or states, or the abodes of different tribes. Mr. Ellis has given us an enumeration of twenty-two such provinces. The northernmost or that which occupies the northern extremity of the island is called Vohimarina, and the southern extremity is Androy. The whole list is as follows :—

On the eastern coast from the northern to the southern point, inclusive, there are eleven provinces.

1, Vohimarina; 2, Maroa; 3, Ivongo; 4, Mahavelona; 5, Tamatave; 6, Betanimena; 7, Anteva; 8, Matitanana; 9, Vangaïdrano; 10, Anosy; 11, Androy.

The next three are inland provinces in the southern part of the island, that is, lying to the southward of the central province of Ankova.

12, Tsienimbalala; 13, Ibara; 14, Betsileo.

On the western or African side of the island, from south to north, on the sea coast,

15, Menabe, or South Sakalava; 16, Ambongo, projecting into the channel towards Mozambique; 17, Iboina, or North Sakalava.

Inland provinces in the central and most mountainous part of the island,

18, Antsianaka; 19, Ankay; 20, Ankova.

In the south-western corner of Madagascar,

21, Mahafaly; 22, Fiarenana.

The first province, Vohimarina, the name of which is derived, perhaps, from Vohimaro, " many villages," is a barren and mountainous province, as also is Maroa, though more populous than Vohimarina. In Maroa is the French settlement of the Bay of Antongil, near which is the small island of Marotto and Port Choiseul. Ivongo to the northward is likewise hilly, woody, and fertile. On the coast is the island of St. Maria or Ibrahim, called emphatically " the Frenchman's grave," whither, the Abbé Rochon says, " the greatest

care was taken to send nobody to settle, except such as would occasion little hurt to society if they perished."

In the fourth province, Mahavelona, is the trading station of Foule Point, as well as that of Ifenoarivo or Teneriffe. On this coast, and indeed on many parts of the eastern coast, Arab traders as well as French from the Mauritius are settled.

In the fifth province is the port of Tamatave, which bears the name of the province.

The eighth province of Matitanana is the chief settlement of Arabs in eastern Madagascar. This country is famous for the numerous ombiasses or sorcerers who are there found, whose business it is to calculate days, foretell fortunes, and prepare medicines and charms.

In the tenth province, Anosy, is the promontory on which Fort-Dauphin stands, the earliest French settlement. In this country is the celebrated vale of Amboto and the principal settlements of the Roman Catholic missionaries. The province is populous and produces abundance of rice and manioc, sugar and coffee.

Androy, Mahafaly, and Fiarenana are some of the most rude and uncivilised parts of the island. In the latter is the Bay of St. Augustine, in the neighbourhood of which Robert Drury was shipwrecked. His narrative refers chiefly to this district and its vicinage. There also the Winterton was lost in 1792, about 20 miles from the bay of Toliu.

Ibara and Tsienimbalala are thickly peopled and little known. Betsileo, the other inland province to the westward of the mountains, abounds in cattle and is inhabited by people of mild character, who resemble the Hovas or natives of Ankova in many respects. To the west of Betsileo, towards the coast, is Menabe, or the South Sakalava country. The Sakalavas are a warlike people divided into clans.

Ankova is the most important province in the island; it is the country of the Hovas, the most powerful and civilised people. It is divided into three districts, Imerina, Imamo, and Vonizongo. The former was the hereditary kingdom of Radama; the two latter were conquered by the Hovas during the reign of the father of Radama. Ankova is hilly; the capital, Tananarivo, is situated on a hill elevated five or six

hundred feet above the level of the surrounding rice-grounds. The high mountains in this district are the scenes of fabulous tradition of the feats of giants and supernatural beings. Altars were there erected by former generations, where the natives offer sacrifices and prayers to the manes of the dead. The usual name for these places is Vazimbas, that is, altars raised to the Vazimbas, the supposed aborigines of the central parts of the island. The Vazimbas will be mentioned in a following section of this chapter.

SECTION II.—*Of the different Tribes into which the Population of Madagascar is divided.*

The people of Madagascar are said to call themselves Malacasas.* This name has been differently corrupted, and is written Madecassas, Malgaches, Malagasy. It is a remarkable fact, if true, that races of people so divided in characters and so much separated into different nations, having no political connection until a very late period, when they have been for the first time reduced under one sovereign, should have adopted a single national appellative. Their only bond of union is that they are the inhabitants of one island, and are said to have a common language. It is probable that this language, which is now general, was formerly confined to a part of the Malecassian people, and that, as it became diffused, the national name was spread and was assumed coextensively.

The population of Madagascar has been variously estimated. Flacourt, the most celebrated of the early writers on the history of this island, estimated it at 1,600,000 souls. Mr. Ellis, whose account is derived from missionaries some time resident on the island during the time of King Radama, supposes it to amount nearly to 4,500,000.

It is commonly supposed that the people of Madagascar consist of different races, some tribes being of African origin, while others are descended from the Malayo-Polynesian

* Notice Statistique.

stock. This opinion rests on no historical evidence, for there is no historical testimony, not even that of oral tradition, that reaches back to a remote period in this island. Nor has any confirmation of the same notion been obtained from a comparison of the Malecassian dialects with the idioms of the tribes in Africa. The assertion has been made on mere conjecture from the resemblance of physical characters in some parts of the Malecassian people to the Negro races of the opposite Mosambique that has given rise to the supposition that the black and crisp-haired tribes in the island are akin to the people of Kafir-land or South Africa. It must be admitted that this conjecture is a very probable one. We shall inquire what evidence can be found in its support when we survey the ethnographical characters of the different Malecassian tribes. In the following section I shall endeavour to bring together what information I can collect relating to these characters; but as a necessary preparation for the subject, I shall first collect some notices of the principal tribes and their abodes, together with some brief notices which will be amplified in the next section.

The Malecassian tribes principally enumerated by travellers are the following.

1. The Antavares or Antavarts. This name is said to mean People of Thunder or People of the North, because thunder in Madagascar generally comes from the north. They are said to inhabit all the littoral provinces of the north-western part of the island from Cape Ambre, the northern extremity, to Cape Foule Point, to the southward of the island of Ibrahim or Sainte Maria, which is also inhabited by Antavares. This includes four of the maritime provinces above-mentioned, viz. Vohimarina, Maroa, Ivongo, and Mahavelona.

2. The next people are the Bestimessaras, which name means United People, Great People, or Good People. They are said to be an aggregate of petty tribes, who inhabit the country about the middle part of the eastern coast about Foule Point and the provinces of Tamatave. They are said to be industrious people. Of late they have been subjected to the Hovas; but before the conquest of Madagascar by

that nation, they were tributary to the Malattis. The Bestimessaras are said to be the finest race in the whole island. They are a pastoral and agricultural people, and of mild character.

3. The Betanimenes, or "People of a red country," border on the tribe above-mentioned towards the south. Their principal town is on the river Andevoronto, which flows into the Indian Ocean in the province of Betanimena. This is said to be the finest, most populous, and fertile of the maritime provinces of Madagascar, and the people the most hospitable.

4. The Antaximes, or People of the South. They border on the former tribe towards the south. They are a rude and predatory tribe, poor, without industry and commerce. They are said to be black and woolly-haired, and to be the only people in Madagascar who in battle make use of bucklers.

5. Antambasses, further southward, are said to reach as far down on the coast as Fort-Dauphin near the south-eastern cape. The provinces of Matatitana and Vangaidrano must be in this territory, which is said to be well watered by numerous rivers and rich in pasturage. The people are said to be of tall stature and robust, of mild and cheerful but indolent disposition.

6. The Antanosses to the south and the Taissambas to the westward of the preceding occupy all that part of Madagascar that lies towards the southern extremity, in which must be included the whole province of Androy. They are still subject to the same ruling family, said to be of Arabian origin, under which all the neighbouring region was once subdued. The Antanosses in the country of Carcanossi, under Rabi-Fagnian, Ranoa, daughter of an old chief called by the French Ramalifois, and Bedoah, a chief of mountaineers, are said to have been able to resist the conquering arms of Radama, king of the Hovas: they are considered faithful allies of the French colonists of Fort-Dauphin.

On the western side of Madagascar, the people who border on the last mentioned tribe and extend from their territory northwards and reach beyond the Bay of St. Augustine toward the bay and river of Mouroundava, are the Ampatris, the Mahafallis,

and the Caremboulis. Their country is little cultivated, but abounds in wood and pasturage. Their neighbours in the interior are the Machicores. The country about the Bay of St. Augustine is little known: it is said to be barren. The people have the reputation of being hospitable. It is here that we ought to look for Kafirs: the meagre notices we have of the inhabitants by no means agree with the supposition that they are allied to that most savage of the African nations.

From Mouroundava to Ancouala, viz. all the north-western coast of Madagascar, is the country of the Seclaves or Sakalavas, who have been commonly said to be a people of Arabian origin. The ports of Monzangaye and Bombetoe are in their country, where a great traffic is carried on with Zanguebar and Mozambique. Arab traders are said to be settled in the towns, a fact which is much more probable than the origin of the people from Arabia. Monzangaye is said to contain 40,000 souls. The Seclaves were the most powerful people in the island before the victories of Radama and the Hovas. There are in this country many Mohammedans, who have built mosques and schools for educating children in the tenets and learning of Islàm.

This completes the list of littoral tribes in Madagascar. Others are enumerated as inhabiting the inland countries.

The inland tribes are the Ambanivoules or Antambanivoules, "people living at the feet of mountains covered with bamboos." The third tract reckoning from the coast is occupied by the Amayes or Antamayes, the Andrantsaïs, and the Antinaxes. The Antamayes, whom Abbé Rochon mistook for Arabs, resemble the Malays in features and complexion, and blacken their teeth with betel. They inhabit a high steppe between two ranges of mountains eighty leagues in length; their plains are covered with flocks, and their villages are situated on hills. The Andrantsaïs are a pastoral people, but rude and of cowardly character. In their villages are sometimes born dwarfs, and this may be the race that has been reputed to be a nation of dwarfs, and described by old writers under the name of Kimos or Quimos. They ignore any such epithet.

M. Fressange saw one dwarf from this country, but says that they are only seen occasionally, and that no race of dwarfs exists in Madagascar.

Lastly, in the centre of the island is the country of the Hovahs or Ankovas, the most civilised and powerful of the tribes of Madagascar, who under their late King Radama, the Charlemain or the Czar Peter of the Malecasses, seemed destined to assume the station of a civilised and Christian people.

Ankova, or the country of the Hovas, is the most important country, though of no great extent, in the island of Madagascar. Its inhabitants are the most industrious, energetic, and intelligent, and they have acquired a preponderant sway over the whole island, which, if no European power interferes, is likely to attain as firm a footing as the dominion of the Aztecas in Mexico.

The Hovas inhabit a table-land or steppe in the midst of Madagascar, which from its want of trees is in appearance, especially in the dry and cold season, sterile and dreary. Though in great part untilled, it yet supports a large population. In the rainy and warm season vegetation is very rapid, and the valleys, then carpeted with the liveliest green, are rich in vegetation. Ankova, as we are informed by Mr. Ellis, is divided into three principal districts, Imerina, Imamo, and Vanizongo. Imerina was the ancient country of Radama: the two other provinces were added to the kingdom of the Hovas by his father. The capital, Tananarivo, is situated on the summit of a long hill 500 feet in elevation above the surrounding country, and 7000, as it is supposed, above the level of the sea. Its name signifies a thousand towns.* It is surrounded by mountains distinguished as the sites of legendary tales, which record the fabulous achievements of giants and heroes the ancestors of the race. On the hills are ancient altars erected by the men of former generations to the memory and worship of the manes of the deceased, where prayers and sacrifices are still performed or have been performed until a very late period. On the tops of these mountains are still perceived the vestiges of ancient villages.

* *Tanana*, a town, and *arivo*, a thousand.

Throughout the whole territory of Ankova altars are frequently seen on the summits of hills. Their usual name is Vazimba, a term long known in the history of Madagascar. It is supposed to imply the dwellings of the Vazimbas, who are the Pelasgi of Madagascar, the fabulous aborigines of the country who there dwelt and performed mighty works in days of yore. In the valleys and low grounds rice is cultivated; in the bogs rushes, while the higher levels and the sides of hills are planted with manioc, sweet potatoes, gourds, sugar-canes, and beans. The capital is almost surrounded by the sinuosities of the great river Ikiopa, which rises to the east, and uniting itself to the Betsiboka, falls into the western sea not far from Mananjary.

Imerina originally consisted of four distinct and separate kingdoms which were conquered and united by one of the ancestors of Radama, whose name was Andriamasinavalona. The country is divided into small districts, the names of which, according to Mr. Ellis, involve primarily the idea of clans, families, or classes of people. The same clan is found in different districts in some examples. The custom of designating districts from clans or families prevails also, as the same writer observes, in the Polynesian islands.

Mr. Ellis has given the following estimate of the population of Madagascar as distributed between the principal tribes enumerated by him.

The Hovas	750,000
The Sakalavas, including the Bazanazars and the Antsianaka	1,200,000
The Betsileo	1,500,000
The Betanimena and Betsimisaraka	1,000,000
Total	4,450,000

Paragraph 2.—Of the Vazimbas, reputed Aborigines of the Interior.

The Vazimbas were a people whose existence is now only historical, or rather traditionary. They are only known as a

people of antiquity, to whom the erection of rude villages and of sepulchres in the interior parts of the island is attributed: the remains of their ancient works have been held for many generations in profound respect by the present inhabitants, who ascribe them to a race long ago extinct. "To this race," says Mr. Ellis, "a higher antiquity seems to belong than to any of the tribes at present inhabiting Madagascar. All that is known respecting them is that they dwelt in the interior of the island, and have been exterminated or lost by intermixture with other tribes."*

The traditional account, as the same writer informs us, of these Vazimbas is that they were a race of people a little below the common stature, having a remarkably thin and flat configuration of the head, which was narrow in the forehead. Their graves resemble small barrows or gentle elevations of earth with an upright stone placed on or near the centre, and a number of smaller stones rudely thrown together. Mr. Ellis conjectures that the Vazimbas, who were a people of small stature, were the tribe described by Rochon and other writers under the name of Kimos or Quimos, as a nation of pigmies. If that conjecture is well-founded, the description of the Kimos must have been greatly exaggerated. Rochon says of them that they were a nation dwelling in the interior of Madagascar, averaging three feet six inches in stature, and of lighter colour than the Negroes; their hair short and woolly, their arms unusually long. He adds that the females fed their children on cow's milk; that they are equal in intellectual faculties to the other inhabitants of the island; that they are active, industrious, and courageous; that they manufacture iron and steel, of which they make lances and assagays; that they have villages on the summits of high mountains, live chiefly on vegetables, and rear great quantities of cattle; that they hold no communication with the other inhabitants, but are perfectly peaceable unless provoked and attacked. "At the distance of two or three days' journey from Fort-Dauphin are several small barrows or hillocks, owing their origin to a former massacre of these Kimos." It

* Vol. ii. c. 1.

is extremely probable that the Quimos were the people termed by the present Malagasy Vazimbas, as Mr. Ellis conjectures, and that the description of them given by Rochon and other French writers is incorrect, having been derived from accounts reported by natives. Mr. Ellis observes that in the same part of the island, though at a greater distance than two or three days' journey from Fort-Dauphin, a tribe of Vazimbas are said still to exist. "The remains of the Vazimbas, the original inhabitants of Ankova, now reside between the rivers Imania and Amanambolo in the province of Menabé. From this it would appear that the race, though expelled from Ankova, is not extinct from the island of Madagascar, and it is possible that their history and language may yet be elucidated. They are mentioned by Robert Drury, who was shipwrecked near the southern point of Madagascar in 1702, and resided a long time on the island, under the name of Virzimbers. In his time they were still well known as a part of the population of Madagascar. He says they were different from the Malecasses: their hair was neither so long nor so woolly as that of the other natives: their manners and religion were different. They paid a superstitious reverence to the new moon and to several animals, as lizards. They flattened the heads of children." They had, he says, a language quite peculiar to themselves, which was unintelligible to him though he spoke familiarly and constantly used for many years the Malecassian language. Drury supposed them to be the aborigines of the island.

It is much to be desired that we could obtain specimens of the language of those hordes yet existing in Menabé who are said to be descendants of the Vazimbas. It would be a remarkable fact if it should be found that a lank-haired race are really the aborigines of the island, and that they preserve a different speech from that of the Hovas, while the black and woolly-haired tribes everywhere speak the Malagasy.*

* The preceding enumeration of tribes is that of M. Fressange. I have given that of Mr. Ellis, which differs somewhat, below.

SECTION III.—*Ethnographical Characters of the Malecassians.*

Paragraph 1.—General Characters.

The Malecassian tribes enumerated in the last section are, according to Mr. Ellis, evidently distinct nations derived from different original stems, though now united by conquest. In some points they are observed to bear, however, a general resemblance. These common characteristics are thus described:—"They are generally below the middle stature, which few exceed: the men are better formed than the women, who have a tendency to corpulency. The beards of the men are weak, and they are plucked out during youth. Their hands are not so warm as those of Europeans." Mr. Ellis says that the temperature of their blood is colder by the thermometer. The former trait they have in common with other African and with most dark-coloured races. The last remark requires confirmation.

Each tribe displays variations in the physical character of its members. They are separated into two classes, supposed to descend from two different races. "One is distinguished by a light, exquisitely formed person, comparatively fair complexion, and straight or curling hair; the other more robust and dark-coloured, with woolly hair. The former apparently belongs to the Polynesian race; the latter probably descends either from the African Negro or from a Papua or Pelagian Negro race. The straight-haired tribes who descend from the Malayo-Polynesian race have not, however, the complexion of the Malays, but rather that of the Oceanic Polynesians. Mr. Ellis assures us that "the vigour of health frequently gives a ruddy tinge to the olive-coloured race, which removes them from approximating in complexion to the yellow hue of the Malays, while it does not give them any resemblance to the copper-coloured Indians of America. Between the two extreme qualities of the hair, which are

termed Tsotra, or straight, and Ngita, curly or frizzly, there are an indefinite number of gradations."*

A more exact observation separates these people into four castes with reference to their physical characters. These are said to be, 1, tribes of olive complexion with straight hair; 2, olive-coloured people with curly or frizzly hair; 3, Blacks having straight hair; and 4, Blacks with frizzly hair: the first and the last are the most common, of which Ankova is the principal residence. It is more properly the province of Imerina, which is only a part of Ankova, that is the abode of the Hovas ethnologically so termed: in the other provinces, viz. Imamo, Mandridrano, Vonizongo, Valalafotsy, and Vahimanhanatra, a large majority of the people are black. The Hovas, as Mr. Ellis says, are a race distinct from all the rest of the Malecassian people. They are evidently not the aborigines. This writer conjectures that they are a colony from the island of Java.

The present abode of the Hovas in the interior, that is, in Imerina, is not supposed to be the original country, or rather the part of Madagascar which they first inhabited. It is the general belief that they first came to Ankova from the south-eastern point of the island, and gradually dispossessed the former inhabitants, the Vazimbas. The Vazimbas are reported to have been the aborigines of the inland parts of the island. Expelled from the interior and their old possessions, they sought and found refuge in a small district occupying the banks of two rivers in Menabé.

* The same writer afterwards contrasts these two varieties of conformation yet more strongly. He says:—"The various tribes of Madagascar, physically considered, constitute two distinct races. The peculiarities of one are a black complexion and a taller stature than that of the olive-coloured tribes, a stouter body, thick projecting lips, curly or frizzly hair, a frank and honest bearing, and a grave or timid expression of countenance. Some of the tribes exhibit a full bust like the Negroes of the Mozambique shore."

"The fairer race, including the Hovas and many of the Betsileo and Betsimisaraka, are of a light olive or copper colour, smaller stature, long hair, dark hazel or black eyes, erect figure, courteous and prepossessing address, active movements, with an open and vivacious address."

Paragraph 2.—Description of the Malecassians from Le Gentil, De Pagés, and others.

M. Le Gentil has given the following description of the Malecassians:—

"Il ne m'a paru à proprement parler que deux espèces d'hommes à Madagascar, toutes les deux noires, qui diffèrent seulement en ce que l'une, pareille à celle d'Afrique ou de Mosambique, est *très noire* et a de la laine à la tête, comme on dit; c'est à dire des cheveux courts et très crépus; cette espèce est en général forte et vigoureux. Les noirs de la côte d'Afrique opposée à Madagascar sont cependant encore plus corpulens, tant les hommes que les femmes, beaucoup plus forts et plus vigoureux; il en est de l'espèce humaine dans ces deux endroits, cependant si voisins l'un de l'autre, a-peu-près comme des coquilles, et peut-être comme de tous les autres animaux en général: la même espèce de coquille est beaucoup plus grosse à Mosambique et le long de la côte, et plus vive en couleur qu'elle ne l'est au Fort-Dauphin et le long de la côte de l'est de Madagascar.

"L'autre espèce humaine habite le centre ou le milieu de l'île; elle n'est pas si noire que la première; sa couleur est plus bronzée, mais elle est surtout remarquable par de grands cheveux, longs et plats, qui paroissent incapables de recevoir le moindre pli; ils en font de longues tupes, qu'ils laissent descendre bien au-dessous des epaules; cette espèce n'a point le nez écrasé: un visage et une physiognomie à l'Européenne ornent souvent un corps très bien fait." He adds that those people who inhabit the centre of the island are termed Ovas in that country; he thinks they have some resemblance to the Egyptians and to the Chinese in their features. They are a more slender and agile, but less muscular and vigorous race than the Negroes of Madagascar.

M. de Pagés describes the woolly haired Malecassians nearly in the same terms. He says they are tall and well-proportioned, have crisped locks, large and beautiful eyes, an easy carriage, and an open and unreserved countenance.

Their colour is nearly black, and differs but little from that of the natives of the Malabar coast. But this writer differs from Le Gentil in his account of the Ovas or the Tawny race; he says they are remarkably thick-set in their persons, with lank smooth hair, and an olive complexion. He adds that they have a strong resemblance to the Malays.

Paragraph 3.—Characters of particular Races.

The different tribes of Malecassians are now so intermixed that it is difficult to assign particular traits to each clan. Mr. Ellis says they are now nearly the same people, which, as he observes, is manifested by "their general colour, language, customs, and the names of towns, hills, rivers, and natural productions." Nevertheless some traces of distinctness in former times, if not still, subsisting, may be collected. I have above cited some observations to this effect from Le Gentil and De Pagés; I shall now add Mr. Ellis's statements.

He says that the principal divisions of the Malecassian races are four, as follows:—1. The Hovas. 2. The Sakalava. 3. The Betsileo. 4. The Betanimena and Betsimisaraka.

That these tribes are in some measure distinct is manifest from the difference of their dialects and some peculiar customs.

1. The Hovas, who inhabit the province of Ankova, are the predominant race, and possess an entire sovereignty over most of the other provinces.

2. The Sakalavas are the black natives of Madagascar; they are the next people to the Hovas, and they are more numerous. In the last century they were more powerful than the Hovas, whom they had reduced to subjection. The Sakalavas are a brave and generous people, and physically considered they are the finest race in Madagascar. "In person they are tall and robust, but not corpulent; their limbs are well-formed, muscular, and strong. On them a torrid sun has burnt its deepest hue, their complexion being darker than that of any others in the island. Their features are regular,

and occasionally prominent; their countenance open and prepossessing; their eyes dark and their glances keen and piercing; their hair black and shining, often long, though the crisped or curly hair occurs more frequently among them than the inhabitants of other provinces. Their aspect is bold and imposing, their step firm though quick, and their address and movements often graceful and always unembarrassed."*

The Sakalavas are divided into two races, the northern and southern Sakalavas: the first includes the natives of Iboina in the north and of Menabé in the south and south-west of the island, extending on the west side to Fiarenana to the south of St. Augustine's Bay. This is called the Sakalava country.

The Sakalava race are considered to include as subdivisions the Bezanazano, a small tribe inhabiting chiefly Ankay to the south-east of Ankova, as well as the Antsianaka to the north of Ankova. These tribes are supposed to have been separated in war from the other Sakalavas.

3. " The Betsileo, a term signifying *invincible*, form a third distinct race in Madagascar; and though in some respects they resemble their neighbours and conquerors, the Hovas, in others they are distinct. They are generally low in stature, slender in figure, erect and nimble in their movements; their colour is occasionally light copper, though frequently dark; their lips are thick, the eyes hazel, and their hair black, long, and curling. In these respects they approximate to the Hovas; but in their patriarchal mode of life, modest unassuming address, the absence of any thing like a bold and martial bearing in aspect or behaviour, their attachment to the peaceful labours of agriculture, want of that energy, enterprise, and cunning which have made the Hovas sovereigns of a large portion of the island, as well as in many of their manners and customs, they appear to be a different people, and seem to possess few if any traits of character which could have originated, or have justified the assumption of the name by which they are now distinguished."†

4. The fourth division are the Betanimena and Betsimisaraka, who constitute one people differing as much from the

* Ellis's History of Madagascar, vol. ii. 138. † Ibid, p. 129.

Betsileo as do the latter from the Sakalavas. They resemble the Hovas in stature and complexion, and, though darker than the Hovas, are next to them the fairest people in the island. "Their hair is generally frizzly, though not always black; their movements are less active than those of the inhabitants of the centre and western parts of the island; and though their limbs are strong and muscular, they exhibit only occasionally the bold and martial courage of the Sakalavas, or the enterprise, consciousness of power, and industry of the Hovas; though peculiarly distinguished by cleanliness in their homes and apparel, they seem, with comparatively few exceptions, to be degraded in morals below most of their countrymen."*

Besides the above divisions of tribes who make up the great mass of the Malecassian population, there are some castes comparatively few as to their numbers who are remarkable for something which indicates them to be of foreign extraction. These are the following:—

1. The Zaffe-ramini of Flacourt, or more correctly the Zafindramina, are said to be descended from Amina, the mother of Mohammed. They are of Arabian origin, and descended from Arabs who have traded on the coast and have formed settlements, chiefly in the province of Matitanana, which is the chief residence of this caste. The Rhoandrians are said to be the descendants of these immigrants without mixture of race. The Anacandrians and Ondzaisis are more or less mixed with black blood, and yet retain the designation of Malates or Whites.*

2. The Zaffe-Ibrahim or Zafibirihama, that is, "descendants of Abraham," are a colony of Jews or Arabs who settled in the country before the Hejira. They are chiefly in the isle of St. Mary. The Betsimisaraka are composed of these two castes intermixed with the Matitanana, and hence the greater fairness which is perceptible in this tribe.

3. The Bezanozano, or "anarchical," are distinct both from the Hovas and from the Betsimisaraka. They are not a

* Ellis's History of Madagascar, vol. ii. 130.

† Flacourt's and Rochon's Histories of Madagascar.

numerous people. They are not tall, but remarkably stout, are black, with hair crisp and frizzled, short necks, flat features, strong heavy limbs, of firm and independent character.

The Antsianaka are another black tribe similar to the former in most particulars.

Section IV.—*The Religion of the Malecassians.*

The religious notions, or rather superstitions, of the Malecassian tribes, according to the accounts collected by the English missionaries, which constitute nearly the whole sum of the information we possess on that subject, appear to be more akin to the fetiss worship of the Africans than to the system of notions prevalent among the Malayo-Polynesian tribes. There is, as far as we know, among the Malecassians nothing like that imaginative mythology which is common to the Tongans and Tahitians. Their superstition consists principally in the belief of a mysterious power residing in certain material and visible objects which chance leads them to select, and in prayers and sacrifices offered up to them with a view of conciliating their aid and protection. This is precisely the description of the fetiss worship of the African nations. The Malecassians have, moreover, derived, as it would appear, from their Malayo-Polynesian ancestry the characteristic superstition of the *Tabú*, though under a different term; and, like the Polynesians, they are said to pay adoration to the spirits of their ancestors. They have also the rite of circumcision and rites of lustration or purification by sprinkling and ablution, and a septenary division of time, which must probably have been derived from Semitic or other Asiatic nations.

Ody is the term which the Malecassians give to charms or fetisses. Having no idea of a superintending providence, as Mr. Ellis declares, nor any philosophical explanation of daily occurring phenomena, they attribute all events to the influence of particular material objects, which their imagination invests with some mysterious power of producing the changes which strike them as remarkable. Like other nations who have

this superstition, they connect with it the art of divination* and a belief in an universal fatality or immutable destiny, which they term *Vintana.* Objects of worship among them, as amongst the African nations, are peculiar to particular clans or families, or even to individuals. Every house and every family has its own object of superstitious veneration. Sometimes an individual has his own "ody," which he wears about his person. "Crocodile's teeth are worn by many as the receptacles of their *ody,* in which they put their trust in sickness and in health, in life and death." On one occasion a man was seen with a rough imitation of a bullock wrought in silver, about the size of a walnut, suspended from his wrist. On being asked what it was, he replied, "Omby lahy odla," a bullock of money: it appeared on inquiry that he worshipped it as his god of money. Two of the missionaries were struck by the appearance of a bushy plant hung up in an old chieftain's house: they were told that it was the chieftain's idol, which he worshipped daily.

Idolatry is one step beyond fetiss worship, as it implies a distinct personification of the object of dread or confidence, and some art in representing it. The Malecassians have hardly made this advancement, since it appears that the objects of popular worship are neither always represented in the human or any other shape, nor are regarded as properly voluntary agents. The private or household gods are, as we are assured, literally blocks, without pretence to human shape. "Any object that accident points out or fancy dictates, or the diviners fix upon, will serve for an object of worship if the owner sets it apart or consecrates it as such." The public idols are improperly so termed: it does not appear that they are images.* We have no certain information on this point. The objects of worship are so far from being publicly exhibited that it is considered impious to endeavour to obtain a sight of them. Probably as the national gods appear to be derived from the household gods or fetisses of families or individuals, they make them, like the latter, assume an endless variety of forms. The general opinion of the natives is that these idols

* Divination is termed by the Malagasy "Sikidy."

are of the human shape, and vary from half a foot to a foot in length. They cannot be much longer, since the cases in which they are kept are generally not more than a foot long. Some of them are supposed to be mere blocks of no definite shape, and others imitations of animals. Rafanonela is said to be an insect, or to be manufactured in the shape of one, and to be about the size of a silk-worm. When borne in public, the idol is addressed.

There is not usually any altar, as Mr. Ellis informs us, connected with the residence of the idol, and hence the temple is not considered as a place distinct for worship. Instead of the people going to the idol, the idol is brought to the people. Sacrifices are commonly offered in the village where the idol is kept, and a sacred stone is used for this purpose. But generally the people offer their sacrifices at the *vato-vazimba*, which are stones considered to be sacred and erected where the tomb of a Vazimba is supposed to have existed. The sacrifices are also offered to the dead and to the Vazimba more generally than to the idols themselves.

The idols are appealed to in solemn oaths of allegiance and in the administration of the tangena or trial by ordeal. They are also at occasional, not fixed, periods, carried about publicly to dispel diseases, to fortify the people against the danger of storms and lightning, and to bestow virtue on springs and fountains. They are carried to the wars to inspire their devotees with courage, and to render them invulnerable and victorious.

Mr. Ellis has given the names of fifteen idols. Of these he says the most important are Rakelimalaza and Ramahanaly, who are supposed to preside over and care for the welfare of the whole kingdom. The others have a more limited sphere. They are, however, only worshipped in the neighbourhood of Tananarivo, and are elsewhere unknown. It is a very probable opinion of the missionaries that worship of their national divinities is of recent date, and has grown out of the private adoration of stocks and stones, the odys or fetisses of individuals. This is precisely parallel to what we know in Africa, where a powerful chief sometimes attempts, as we have before observed, to constitute his fetiss or favourite

object of worship as god of his clan or of the tribe over which he has gained ascendancy.

The Tabú of the Polynesians is the Fady of the Malecassians. The ideas connected with these terms appear to be precisely the same. Each idol or god of the Malecassians is in antipathy with a particular class or number of objects, and these must never be brought into its presence or into the village where its domicile is fixed. A traveller in Madagascar, as Mr. Ellis informs us, may observe villages scattered here and there, which are esteemed by the people *Masina*, or sacred: admission to them is forbidden to some tribes of the natives, as well as the importation of many animals and articles of merchandize. In some places onions and other kinds of herbs, fruits as well as shell-fish, are prohibited. In some instances the keepers of the idols are forbidden to live in houses thatched with straw. There are some prohibitions peculiar to the rainy season; at that time certain popular games are prohibited. In all cases the prohibitions regarding each idol are ascertained by the decisions of the sikidy or divination.

The belief in ghosts is of a very vague description. The ghost or apparition of a living person is called by the Hovas *ambiroa;* that of the dead *matoatoa,*—a word which, without the frequently occurring prefix *ma,* resembles the Hotooa of the Maorians. Some writers have said that the Malecassians have no belief in a future state; but this is contradicted, as Mr. Ellis observes, by the well-known superstitions connected with ghosts, and it is also contradicted by the customs regarding funerals. A belief in existence after death is plainly implied by the practice of burying with the deceased garments, ornaments, looking-glasses, and any thing greatly valued by him during life. These things are buried with the dead, as the Malecassians declare, in the hope that they will be useful to them again. They say that the matoatoas of both men and beasts reside in a great mountain in the south, called Androndromba, but that they come out occasionally to walk among the tombs.

Whether the Malecassians have, besides these low superstitions, any higher notions of a Supreme Being is uncertain.

According to the statement of the Rev. D. Jones, a missionary, there are old men in Imerina who testify that the most ancient traditions of the country are certain proverbial sayings which recognise the existence of a supreme divinity, "who sleeps not, sees all things, avenges wickedness, rewards goodness, governs all, and effects what man endeavours." It is not altogether improbable that such a belief may coexist with the popular superstitions before described, as we know that something analogous to this combination is to be found among many of the African nations and in various races whose history we have already reviewed.

SECTION V.—*On the Language and Origin of the Malccassians.*

The foregoing details respecting the manners and superstitions of the Malecassians afford confirmation to the opinion, which is rendered very probable by local circumstances, that a great part of the Malecassian population was originally derived from Africa. It is not unlikely that an accurate examination of the different dialects spoken among the black and woolly-haired tribes might display resemblances with the idioms of the Kafirs and the Mozambique Negroes.

The Hovas are evidently a colony from some part of the Indian Archipelago. They probably settled at first on the eastern coast, and gradually spread into the interior. They may be supposed to have brought with them the art of cultivating the soil, and by this resource to have multiplied in the interior of the island, where their numbers in progress of time so greatly increased that their language became predominant. It would seem wholly to have exterminated the original idiom. This at least is the case in the central provinces occupied by the Hovas.

We know not the language or the origin of the Vazimbas, said to have been the primitive inhabitants of Ankova. Drury declared that their language was distinct from the Malecassian, which he understood. If there is yet extant a tribe descended from the Vazimbas, it is to be hoped that their

language will be examined by some European philologer, as this affords the only opportunity of solving the problem as to the original population of Madagascar, or the origin of the earliest people distinct from the African race, who are believed to have colonised it.

The history of the Malayo-Polynesian people in Madagascar is entirely unknown. It appears, however, certain that there was a real colonisation of the island from some country in the Malayan seas, and that the resemblances discovered between the Malecassian and the Malayan languages are not the result of commercial intercourse, as Mr. Crawfurd conjectured. The nearest connection is between the Malecassian and the Tagala of the Philippines.*

It is perhaps on the whole most probable that a colony from Java reached the coast of Madagascar at a time when the Javanese were skilful navigators and formed settlements on various islands of the Indian Archipelago. The date of the event is unknown, but it probably took place before the era when the religion and literature of Hindustan were imported into Java, and therefore before the commencement of the Javan era, which, as we have seen, was not far removed from the era of Salivahana. The existence of a Malayo-Polynesian tribe in Madagascar may therefore be dated from times antecedent to the Christian era.

The following selection of words will serve to illustrate the relations of the Malecassian language.†

* I made this observation in the second edition of my Researches (1826), vol. i. p. 477. It has been fully confirmed by M. de Humboldt, Kawi-Sprache, Bd. 2.

† These words are taken from M. de Humboldt's selection. Kawi-Spr. Bd. 2.

English.	*Malay.*	*Javan.*	*Tagala.*	*Madecassian.*	*Tongan.*	*Maorian.*	*Tahitian.*	*Hawaiian.*
Sky	lāngit	langit	langit	langhits	langi	rangi	rai	lani
Day (Hari, Sansk.)	āri	dhina, rina (dina, Sansk.)	arao	androu	aho	ao	ao	ao
Moon	būlan	wulan	bouan	voulan	mahina	maraina	marame	mahina
Death	māti	mati	matay	maté	mate	mâte	mate	make
Fruit	būah	woh	auoy	voua	fooa		hodu	hua
Woman	betina	wadhon (wadhu, Sanskr.)	babayi	vaivave	fafine	wahine	vahine	wahine
Ear	telinga	talingan	tayinga	tadigny	telinga	taringa	taria	pepeiao
Hand		haran	ngalan	angare	hingoa	ingoa	ioa	inoa
Breast	susu	susu	soso	lougou	hoohoo			u
Tongue	lēdah	hilat	dila	wahombe				
1.	asa	sa	sang-ysa	léla	elelo			leho
2.	dūa	loro	dalua	isa	taha	tāhi	tahi	kahi
3.	tēga	telu, tiga	tatló	róua	ua	dūa	rua	lua
4.	ampat	papat	apat	telou	tolu	tōdu	toru	kolu
5.	līma	lima	lima	effetra	fa	wā	eha	ha
6.	anam	nem	anim	dimi	nima	dīma	rima	lima
7.	tūjuh	pitu	pito	enina	ono	ōno	fene	ono
8.	salāpan	wolu	ualo	fitou	fitu	wītu	hitu	hiku
9.	sambālan	sanga	siyam	valou	walu	wādu	waru	walu
10.	sa-pūluh	sapa-lu	polo	sivi	hiwa	īwa	iwa	iwa
				foulou	fulu	ūdu	huvu	umi

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE BLACK NATIONS OF OCEANICA.—KELÆNONESIA.

SECTION I.—*General Survey.*

To the beautiful groupes of islands inhabited by the Polynesian tribes, covered with rich vegetation and spread out like clusters of gems under the sunny sky of the Great Ocean, a striking contrast is presented when we turn towards the adjoining region on the west.* The more concentred and extensive lands of this western region contain long ranges of lofty mountains and unexplored wildernesses covered with primeval forests. The tribes of human beings who inhabit them are equally unlike the people of the eastern groupes. Ferocious and sullen, of savage and menacing aspect, naturally averse to intercourse with strangers, they have ever shunned the approach of civilised people as uniformly as the Polynesians have courted it. Hence these tribes, their national affinities, and their languages are still almost wholly unknown, in spite of the diligent inquiries of many intelligent persons who have devoted themselves to the investigation. Their physical characters are likewise very different from those of the agile, graceful, and comparatively fair Polynesians. Among these tribes are to be seen some who recede farthest from the almost European or Asiatic beauty of the Tahitian and Marquesan islanders, and exceed in ugliness the most ill-favoured brood of the African forests, whom they rival in the sooty blackness of their complexion. The natural covering of their head is of various kinds; some have the woolly hair of the Negroes of Guinea; others have lank straight locks which

* A remark of M. Dumont d'Urville.

may be compared with those of the Esquimaux or the Algonquins; while many are striking to the beholder by their broad, bushed-out, and frizzly periwigs, reaching the circumference of three feet, by which they obtained from Dampier the epithet of Mop-headed Papuas.

For this region of black or nearly black and savage people a distinguishing name is yet wanted. Australasia and Papua-land are but parts of it. I shall term it Oceanic Nigritia, or Oceanic Negroland. A shorter name for common use is supplied by the compound epithet of Kelænonesia,* which corresponds in form with Polynesia. Under this designation must be comprised all the insulated countries which are situated under the same latitudes but to the westward of Oceanic Polynesia, that is, further west than the meridian of the Fíjí Islands, and to the southward of Micronesia and the Indian Archipelago. In the midst of this region is the great island or rather continent of Australia or Australasia, nearly equal to all Europe in extent. The outskirts of Kelænonesia, or Oceanic Negroland, stretch far to the eastward and northward and westward of the Australian coast. A great amphitheatre of islands sweeping from the eastern extremity of New Ireland, and principally under the names of Solomon's Islands and the New Hebrides, forming a crescent which fronts towards the more open seas of Eastern Oceanica, constitutes the eastern margin of the region now described. New Caledonia and Tasmania may be represented as belonging to this range and forming its most southern tract. To the northward New Guinea and the whole of Papua-land come within the circumference of Kelænonesia, but in order to form an ample idea of its extent in this direction we must go back in imagination to a time when the Malayo-Polynesian race had not

* From κελαινὸς, (Sanskrit Kālah,) black. A more usual spelling of the word I have adopted would be Celænonesia, but there seems no good reason for dropping the Greek κ and taking for it the Latin c with our modern pronunciation. French writers have used the epithet of Melanésie with the same meaning, disregarding etymological accuracy. This last name is likewise objectionable as being too similar to another which the same writers have invented, viz. Malaisie. The term which I have chosen is more correct and distinct.

yet entered the Indian Archipelago, or had at least not spread themselves far beyond the limits of one or two of the principal islands. We may then imagine the black tribes taking their migratory march along the mountain-chains of the Malayan peninsula, where they left a remnant of the stock still well-known and strongly characterised. Thence we may mark their gradual progress from one great island to another till they reached the shore of New Guinea, after occupying all or nearly all the islands to the northward of that country. The existence of large quadrupeds on several of the principal islands has given rise to a probable conjecture that this archipelago was originally formed by the disruption of an ancient continent through the invasion of equatorial currents, at a time when Borneo, Sumatra, Celebes, and Java had already been stocked with land animals of a kind not found in remote islands. But whether tribes of the human species spread themselves by a land journey, or by means of canoes made their way from one island to another, they appear from various indications to have peopled most parts of the archipelago long before the arrival of the first colonies of Polynesians. They still exist, as we have already remarked, in the interior of most of the greater islands of the Indian seas. To the westward we trace them to the Andaman Islands in the Gulf of Bengal, and to the northward to the Malayan mountain-chain, and from thence to Borneo, the Philippines, the Moluccas and New Guinea, Luisiade, the chain of Solomon's Isles, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and Tasmania; while another branch, taking a more southern direction, appears to have passed from Java along the chain of islands which reaches nearly in a straight line to Timor, and lastly to Australia.

The history of these tribes, and more especially that of their languages, is as yet too little known to justify any assertion as to their mutual relations in a general point of view to each other; and though they have many moral and physical qualities in common, these do not amount to a proof of real kindred. We shall therefore leave the question of their affinity as a subject of future investigation, and for the present divide the human inhabitants of Kelænonesia into the following classes on the ground of their physical diversities.

1. Puny Negroes of the Indian Seas. These are races of small stature, black or nearly black, with woolly hair, and features bearing a strong resemblance to the Negroes of Guinea.

2. Papuas. Tribes of people remarkable for their bushy frizzled hair, which grows on the head in separate tufts, and is spread out, when long, in a thick bushy periwig, forming what the French voyagers term " une crinière volumineuse."

I am in doubt whether these races ought in reality to be distinguished on the ground of this difference in their hair. Mr. Earle, who has had more extensive intercourse with them, and perhaps greater opportunities of correct observation among several of these tribes than any European before possessed, is of opinion that the hair in all these tribes is similar as to its original growth, and that those who appear to have their heads covered only with a short or close wool-like growth would have locks equally long and bushy with the Papuas if they only, like the latter people, suffered their hair to grow to its utmost length, and then dressed it like the Papuas, who are in the habit of stiffening it out with grease. Whether this observation applies to the puny black race of the Philippine Islands described recently by Lafond, and of whom accounts had previously been given by Spanish, French, and Italian writers,* I cannot determine. At any rate the difference of stature and features between these short and puny people of the Indian Archipelago and the tall, bottle-nosed, mop-headed Papuas of Dampier, is perhaps a sufficient ground for describing them under two sections.

Perhaps the greater number of black races in Oceanic Negroland are in many respects intermediate between these two extremes, and approach more nearly to the ordinary character of the African Negro. We shall collect further accounts of the physical characters of these nations.

3. Races with straight hair. The Australasians belong to this department. The Haraforas or Alforian tribes, as they are described by French writers in New Guinea as forming

* In the second edition of my Researches the accounts given of this race by several old writers were cited. They agree with those of M. Lafond.

the aboriginal inhabitants of the mountains of Arfak, are, according to these writers, very similar to the Australians.

Section II.—*Of the Puny Negroes of the Indian Seas.*

These races have been confounded with the Papuas, from whom they are in many particulars, if I am not mistaken, to be distinguished. Puny Negro races are found in many distant places in the islands scattered through the Indian Seas. The first tribe that I shall describe are in the Bay of Bengal. They inhabit the Andaman Islands. Perhaps they exist also in some of the Nicobar Islands. In the latter at least it is said that there is an unknown and barbarous tribe. I shall abstract some brief notices of these groupes of islands and their inhabitants from some papers on them in the Asiatic Researches.

Paragraph 1.—Natives of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

The Nicobar and the Andaman Islands appear to be a prolongation of the central mountain-chain of the great island of Sumatra towards the north-west: they lie in one continuous line with the direction of that chain. The natural productions of these islands are few. They were probably dissevered from a more extensive mainland by some ancient incursion of the ocean. At present they contain two races of people, whose description presents some points of particular interest. One of these belongs to the same type as the insular nations of Sumatra: the other is a Negro or black and woolly-haired tribe.

The natives of the Nicobar Islands are said to be the people whose singular dress gave rise to the story of men with tails which was laid hold of by the eccentric Lord Monboddo. One Keoping, a Swedish traveller, who went to the east in 1647 on board a Dutch ship, which anchored off the Nicobar Islands, related that he discovered them to

be inhabited by men having tails like those of cats, which they moved in the same manner. These people were supposed to have devoured a part of the crew sent on shore, whose bones were found strewed on the sea-coast. Fontana, who described the same people after a better acquaintance with them, found their dress to be a long narrow cloth of coco-nut bark round their waist and hanging down behind, and he supposes this to have given origin to the relation of the Swede.

These islands are but thinly peopled, and some of them are desert. The natives live chiefly in small villages on the sea-shore except in the Great Nicobar Island, where a race of men is supposed to live in the interior different from the others in colour and habits: these are supposed to be the aborigines. They are unknown in other respects. It is not improbable that they may be of the same description as the natives of the Andaman Islands, to whom we shall presently advert. They are said to be ferocious barbarians and to commit depredations on the natives of the plains.

The Nicobar people, known to foreigners, are said to be of the same complexion as the Malays. According to Fontana "they are of a copper colour, with small eyes obliquely cut, what in ours is white being in theirs yellowish; with small flat noses, large mouths, thick lips, and black teeth; well-proportioned in their bodies, rather short than tall, with large ears; they have black strong hair; the men have little or no beard; the hinder part of their head is flat and compressed; they never cut their nails, but they shave their eyebrows. They wear round their waist a cloth made of the bark of a tree, with one end hanging down behind, a peculiarity which doubtless gave rise to the report of a race of tailed men in these islands."

Dampier described the people of the Nicobar Isles somewhat differently. He says they are tall well-limbed men with handsome features of a dark copper colour. Their language was different from all others he had heard, but contained some Malayan words.

Fontana says their language is a corrupt Malayan. He gives a vocabulary, which, however, seems to be in a great

measure peculiar. Adelung thought one of the dialects of these islanders similar to some idioms on the Indo-Chinese peninsula, but the subject requires further inquiry.

The Nicobar Islanders have some remarkable customs connected with sepulture, of which an account may be seen in the fourth volume of the Asiatic Researches.

The Andaman islands are covered with thick forests, in which the only quadrupeds yet discovered are wild hogs, monkeys, and rats: iguanas and various reptiles abound, and birds build edible nests in caverns and recesses. These islands, as Lieutenant Colebrooke, who first described them in modern times, has observed, were known long since, having been mentioned by Marco Polo and by two Mohammedan travellers of the ninth century, whose narrative was translated and published by Renaudot. The passage cited from this narrative is curious. Beyond these islands (Nejabalar, probably Nicobar) lies the sea of Andaman: the people on this coast eat human flesh quite raw; their complexion is black, their hair frizzled, their countenance and eyes frightful; their feet are very large and almost a cubit in length, and they go quite naked. They have no embarcations, and if they had they would drown all the strangers they could lay their hands on.*

The following is the description given of these people by Lieutenant Colebrooke in the fourth volume of the Asiatic Researches, and in the narrative of the Embassy to Ava by Mr. Symes.

* Compare Symes's Embassy to Ava, and Lieutenant Colebrooke, Asiatic Researches, vol. iv.; also Adelung, Mithridates, vol. i., p. 588.—It has been thought by some that the people of the Andaman Islands are descended from runaway Négro slaves, or from some Africans, who might accidentally have been cast on shore from a shipwreck. But this conjecture, besides that it is unlikely in itself, is shown to be unfounded by a remark of M. Adelung, who observes that the Andaman Isles are already mentioned by that name in the Arab voyages, translated by Renaudot, as early as the year 850, which is long before the era of the Portuguese trade in slaves from Mozambique. The natives were then savages and cannibals; their physical characters were the same as now. Mr. Colebrooke has given a vocabulary of forty-one words in the dialects of the Andamaners, which proves it to be a language different from all others.

"The natives of the Andaman islands are not more favoured in the conformation of their bodies than they are in the endowment of their minds. In stature they seldom exceed five feet; their limbs are ill-formed and slender, their bodies protuberant; they have high shoulders and large heads, and, like the Africans, they have woolly hair, flat noses, and thick lips; their eyes are small and red, their skin of a *deep sooty black*, while their countenances exhibit the extreme of wretchedness and ferocity. They go quite naked, and daub themselves over with mud to keep off the insects, and fill their woolly hair with red ochre or cinnabar. They are very ferocious, and make no attempt to cultivate the ground, but live on the accidental supplies of food which the woods and sea afford them Their language, which is said to be a polysyllabic one, is rather smooth than guttural. Like the nations of Africa, they are fond of rude dances, and they are said to have pleasing melodies."

Paragraph 2.—Negro Races of Lasso, Luzon, and other Islands in the Philippine Archipelago.

Black woolly-haired tribes have long been known among the inhabitants of the interior of the Penang Islands in the Archipelago of the Philippines, where they occupy rocky mountainous regions in the inland parts. One of the small islands is named from them "Isla de los Negros;" in other islands they are termed "Negritos del Monte." They are called Aigta and Inagta, which, according to Don Francisco Garcia de Torres, means Blacks. Igolote is another appellation given to them. We have numerous descriptions of these people in the writings of Catholic missionaries who have resided in the Philippine Islands. It appears that there are two races of Blacks in the interior of the Philippine Islands. The following account was taken from the narrative of the Abbate Bernardo de la Fuente.

"The Negroes of the Philippine Islands are of two races. One of them is supposed in these countries to be descended from the Malabars or Sepoys, because, although their skin

is perfectly black, their hair is long, fine, and glossy, like that of other Indians, and their countenances are not deformed in the nose and lips like those of the Negroes of Guinea. These people, whether in a state of slavery or freedom, are tolerably civilised in their manners. There is another race of Negroes termed Aïgta, who wander about dispersed among the mountains: these have somewhat of the deformity of features, and they have crisped hair, like that of the natives of Guinea. Of these Negroes some are found in the Isle of Luzon, and they are very numerous in the Isla de los Negros, of which they suppose themselves to be the original inhabitants. The said race of Negroes seems to bear upon themselves the malediction of Heaven, for they live in the woods and mountains like beasts in separate families, and wander about supporting themselves by the fruits, which the earth spontaneously offers to them. It has not come to my knowledge that a family of these Negroes ever took up their abode in a village. If the Mohammedan inhabitants ever make slaves of them, they will rather submit to be beaten to death than undergo any bodily fatigue; and it is impossible either by force or persuasion to bring them to labour. Not far from the mission at Bhynnan, in the Island De los Negros, there was a horde of Negro families who had traffic with some barbarous Indian people, and were by these given to understand that I counselled them to receive baptism in order that the government might force them to pay the tribute; in consequence of this I could never reclaim one of them, and I believe that very few Negroes have been converted, for I only found the name of one in a register containing the baptisms of two hundred years. I ever maintained with these Negroes a gentle and friendly intercourse, hoping that the grace of the Lord might fructify in their hearts; and I began to discover that they trusted me and obeyed me in many particulars." He adds, "that their language was the Boholan, and that they were supposed to descend from African Negroes," a conjecture of as little weight as that which derives the other race of straight-haired black people from the Malabars. The same writer was informed that in the interior of the island were Negroes with perfectly red

eyes, who were cannibals; but he never saw any one of them.

A very interesting account has lately been given by Captain Gabriel Lafond (of Lavey) of a tribe of these Negroes inhabiting the island of Lasso, where they are found in places of difficult access. One of their mountain villages was visited by M. Lafond, who represents the inhabitants as living in the rudest manner. This writer agrees with Le Gentil in describing them as nearly naked savages, with flat noses and hair like wool or cotton. They precisely resemble the Negroes of the Isle of Luzon. They were lean, of light and active form; their stature was remarkably small, being little above four feet and nearer to four than four and a-half. In this extreme smallness of stature the Inagta or Igoloto resemble some of the Samang of the Malayan mountains, who are described by Crawford as a very diminutive race. M. Lafond admits that in other places their stature is greater.

It is very remarkable that M. Lafond, as well as all the missionaries who have been acquainted with these Negro tribes of the Philippines, agree in the statement that they speak dialects of the Tagala and Bisaya languages. These are the principal idioms of the Philippine Islands, and are known to be dialects of the Malayan language. The Abbate Torres says, "La lingua dell' Isola, detta de' Negri è la Bisaya stessa, col miscuglio di moltissime parole forestieri;" and by De la Fuente, who says, "La loro lingua è Boholana poiche in essa mi parlavano sebbene adulterata."

Section III.—*Of the Papuas.*

In the former part of this work I have stated the observations of several distinguished French naturalists who have described the Papuas of the islands adjacent to the coast of New Guinea. These writers regard the natives of Waigiou, Boug, Rawak, and Manouaran, situated between the Moluccas and the eastern extremity of New Guinea, and termed "Isles des Papous," as a mixed or, as some term them, a hybrid race, descended in part from a people resembling the Malays,

or from a tribe of Alfourous or Haraforas, having lank hair, and in part from a black and woolly or crisp-haired people of the adjoining continent or great island of New Guinea. It seems to me clear from a comparison of different accounts that the Papuas of the small islands are a mixed people, and that the race who inhabit the mainland of New Guinea are a genuine and peculiar tribe. I shall lay before my readers some of the statements of the most accurate writers, from which I think they will be led to coincide with me in this opinion, and will at the same time obtain the best information as to the history and relations of these tribes of people.

Paragraph 1.—Tribes inhabiting the "Isles des Papous."

M. de Freycinet was assured by Abdalasa Fourou, an intelligent native of the Papua Islands, that the people are of the same race as the natives of New Guinea. This is probably true, as it refers to the basis of the population. The following is the description of their physical characters given in the work of M. de Freycinet:—"Sauf un petit nombre d'exceptions ils sont généralement laids: plusieurs ont des figures regulières et même assez expressives; quelques unes annoncent la finesse, d'autres la douceur; mais chez le plus grand nombre on ne voit qu'un assemblage de traits hideux et effrayans.

"Le front aplati, le crâne peu pro-éminent, l'angle facial de 75 degrés, la bouche grande, les yeux petits et enfoncés, les pommettes saillantes, le nez gros, écrasé du bout et se rabattant sur la lêvre supérieure, la barbe rare, particularité déjà remarquée chez d'autres habitans de ces régions, les épaules d'une largeur moyenne, le ventre très gros, et les membres inférieures grèles—tels sont les caractères distinctifs de ce peuple.

"Leur chevelure est de nature et de formes très variées: le plus communément c'est une volumineuse crinière composée d'une couche de cheveux lanugineux ou lisses, frisant naturellement, et n'ayant pas moins de huit pouces d'épaisseur: peignée avec soin, crêpée, herissée en tous sens, elle

décrit, à l'aide d'un enduit graisseux qui la soutient, une circonférence à-peu-près spherique autour de la tête; souvent ils y joignent, plutôt pour l'orner que pour ajouter à sa consistance, un fort long peigne en bois de cinq ou six dents."

" Il en est dont les chevaux sont agréablement frisées comme dans nos contrées d'Europe: d'autres chez lesquels, selon la rémarque de M. Quoy, l'angle facial est beaucoup plus aigu, les ont courts, laineux, et semblabes à ceux des Nègres de Guinea: d'autres enfin les ont lisses et longs, ainsi que les Malais. Toutes ces chevelures sont noirs: quelques unes cependant sont mélangées d'un rouge ardent, et même presque entièrement de cette dernière teinte."

" Chez les Papous on voit en général les dents fort belles; un petit nombre les ont noires et limés. Leurs lèvres sont épaisses sans l'être d'une manière très prononcées, et la saillie de leur bouche dépend plutôt de la disposition particulière des dents."

" Ils sont pour la plupart trapus et fortement constitués; peu d'entre eux ont une taille élevée; il n'est par rare d'en voir de maigres. Les Timoriens l'emportent de beaucoup sur eux tant pour la force que pour l'élégance de la forme et la noblesse des poses."

He adds, that five out of six skulls found near the same tomb had a facial angle of 75°.

The preceding description was written, as M. de Freycinet says, by M. Pellion. The following observations are those of MM. Quoi aud Guimard, two distinguished naturalists who accompanied M. de Freycinet. They are intended to complete the description of the insular Papuas, but apply in great part to the tribes who form the population of New Guinea and many neighbouring countries.

Forming their opinion from many hundreds of the natives of the isles Rawak and Waigiou, whom they had personal opportunities of observing during an abode of twenty days at these places, they remark that the Papuas have in general a middle stature—" assez bien prise chez quelques uns"—yet their constitution was mostly somewhat feeble, and the inferior extremities weak and thin. Their skin is of a dark brown colour, their hair black, and in a slight degree—"tant soit peu"—

woolly—"très touffus"—by nature frizzled, giving to the head an enormous volume, especially when, neglecting to tie their locks and fix them behind, they suffer them to fall in front. They have very little beard even in old age. Their hair is black as well as the eyebrows, the moustachios, and the eyes. Although their noses are somewhat flattened, their lips thick, and their cheek-bones broad, their countenances are not disagreeable, and there is nothing gross in their laugh.

Some have noses more depressed than others. "We saw individuals who with features little different from those above described, had hair flat, smooth, and falling lower than their shoulders."

Peculiarities of the Skull of the Papuas of Waigiou as described by MM. Quoi and Guimard.

The heads of the Papuas display a flattening of the anterior and posterior parts, together with a large and broad extension of the fauces.

The summit of the head is elevated; "les bosses parietales" very prominent, the temples very convex, and the coronal below the semicircular lines of the temples have a remarkable projection.

The bones of the nose, almost vertical, flattened as if artificially depressed, have little projection: they are narrowed at the middle part, and enlarged both above and below. The form of the nose, as above indicated, corresponds to this structure, the effect of which is increased by the breadth of the ascending apophyses of the upper maxillary bone. These bones themselves are much broader than in the European race, chiefly on account of the greater developement of the malar processes of the maxillary bones, and this character gives to the face the great breadth which is so remarkable in these insular tribes.*

* This peculiar conformation of the broad-faced Papua skull corresponds remarkably with the description of the Esthonian Finns: see vol. iii. chapter on the Finnish Races. We must observe that these osteological characters

The anterior opening of the nasal fossæ is levelled at the inferior part in a greater degree than in the Negro. The malar bones advance more forwards, and the zygomatic apophyses are broader and more projecting.

The alveolar arch is of very remarkable thickness in the part which corresponds to the molar teeth.

The great size of the anterior palatine foramen seems to indicate a more considerable developement of the naso-palatine ganglions and a greater perfection in the organ of taste.

These are the remarks of MM. Quoi and Gaimard upon the osteological characteristics of the insular Papuas.*

M. de Freycinet learned, upon what appeared to him good authority, that cannibalism prevails in New Guinea, of which he adds that no appearance of cruelty or barbarism observed among the Papuas of Waigiou indicated them to be capable. Though intelligent, and even witty and lively—spirituels—timidity and mistrust appeared to be leading traits in their character. "No proof appeared that they were capable of violent acts or of robbery; on the contrary, they appeared mild and hospitable, and on a notable occasion when they had an opportunity of abusing our confidence, we had occasion to rejoice in their good faith."†

Paragraph 2.—Papuas of New Guinea.

The north coast of New Guinea is the first tract that presents itself to the eyes of a voyager through the Indian Archipelago as remarkable for its great elevation. The whole northern coast of that great island is a high and mountainous table-land covered with lofty forests. In the eastern parts of New Guinea visited by Captain Carteret the land is level by the water-side, gradually rising into very lofty hills, which

belong to no race of people approximating to the Negro type. The face of the Papua seems to be much more flattened than that of the Malay, and to have more of the Mongolian character.

* Observations sur la Constitution Physique des Papous, par MM. Quoi et Gaimard. Voy. de M. de Freycinet, Zoologie, ch. i.

† Voyages, liv. iii. p. 47.

are generally covered with dense woods, but have in some parts cleared spots which are plantations. New Britain and New Ireland, which are separated from New Guinea by narrow channels, but form with it and with each other almost one country, are of similar formation, as are the chains of islands which appear like prolongations of the main land into the western part of the Pacific. To the southward New Guinea is separated by a wide strait from the northern coast of Australasia.*

The following account of New Guinea and its inhabitants is taken from M. Dumont d'Urville's description.

The forests of New Guinea, like those of New Ireland, are principally composed of pterocarpus, inocarpus, mimosa, croton, scævola, bruguera, sonneratia, hibiscus, pandanus, sagus, cycas, and of a great assemblage of ferns. The tectona is also very common, but it is to be observed that this beautiful tree forms in these forests in general only arches of a second order, and that these are surmounted by the summits of the pterocarpus and mimosa, which appear at a distance to form a second forest above the first. Cultivated spots are found around the villages: the soil is so rich that it is only necessary to turn it up and remove noxious weeds in order to obtain the most abundant crops. But the Papuas are indolent and ignorant of agriculture, and suffer the esculent plants to be choked up by the multitude of parasites. The plantations of arum are alone somewhat more carefully kept.

* The northern coast of New Guinea was discovered by the Portuguese navigator Don Jorge de Meneses, in the year 1526. It was named Nueva Guinea by the Spaniard Villalobos, who, in 1545, sailed 230 leagues along the northern shore of this country, which he supposed not to have been before discovered by Europeans. (History of Discoveries in the Pacific Ocean, by Captain Burney, vol. i.) The northernmost extremity was afterwards termed the Cape of Good Hope; this point is within half a degree of the equator, and the land extends southward to Torres's Strait, or nearly to 10° of south latitude; its longitude is much greater; but in 1700 a strait was discovered by Dampier, separating the country before called Nova Guinea into two parts; the eastern land was named by that navigator Nova Britannia. Sixty-seven years afterwards Captain Carteret found another strait which cuts off the eastern extremity of this latter country, and the name of New Ireland was given to the most remote part.

The descriptions I have already selected referring to the physical character of the Papuas of the islands apply with some exceptions to the Papuas of New Guinea. The latter, however, are a genuine and peculiar race, and not a mixed people, as some have supposed. This might be inferred from the very general diffusion of tribes having a similar character over the countries of New Guinea and the adjoining great islands, as well as the long chains which extend into the western Pacific Ocean. In this conclusion I am fully confirmed by Mr. Earle, who is better acquainted from personal observation and intercourse with the Papua race than any former voyager has been. Mr. Earle entirely disagrees with some French writers who have supposed the Papuas of the northern coast of New Guinea to be a hybrid race. He assures me that there are not the slightest grounds for that opinion. He has seen many individuals who really were of a mixed breed, and who differed greatly from the genuine Papuas. "The mixed or half-breed are a fine sturdy people, with curly not woolly hair, and without that tuft-like appearance which characterises the hair of the genuine Papuas." He adds: "I suspect that the Papuas originally subsisted entirely on the natural products of the sea and on fruits, and that what little knowledge they have of cultivation of the soil has been derived from the Polynesians or Arafuras, from whom they have also learned to construct the long tenements which shelter a whole tribe under one roof. The Papuas of the south near Torres's Straits make conical huts of a much larger size, but in form similar to those of the Australians. This form appears to be that generally adopted by the Negro tribes throughout the countries where they are found. The Hottentots are of all others the most like the Papuas in the nature of their hair, which grows, as it is well known, in separate tufts.

"That the Papuan race is the most ancient of the races inhabiting the Indian Archipelago cannot, I think, be doubted. It is extremely probable that they occupied originally all the islands of the archipelago, large and small. They have at length been found in the interior of Borneo near the source of the Kotto river on the west coast. They appear to

have been originally genuine ichthyophagi, and therefore dwellers on the coast, as are the Papuas of New Guinea at the present day."

The hair of the Papuas, of which I have specimens brought by Mr. Earle, is evidently a distinct sort of growth both from the hair of Europeans and that of Africans. Every filament is long and has a spiral twist like a corkscrew, and will grow, if not cut, to the length of a foot. This applies fully to the Papuas of New Guinea.

I shall conclude what I have to say on the native people of New Guinea in the present chapter by citing the account given by M. d'Urville. According to this writer the mass of the inhabitants from the sea-border opposite the Isle of Waigiou to the harbour of Doreï, which is a considerable part of the north-western division of the coast of New Guinea, are of the Papua race; but besides these he distinguishes two other descriptions of people, viz. a mixed tribe, and the Harfours, who are the Alfourous of other writers.

The Papuas, properly so termed by most voyagers, are men of slender make, of middle stature, graceful and light, with limbs by no means fleshy. Their physiognomy is agreeable, the shape of their faces oval, their cheek-bones slightly projecting, and their lips tolerably thin; their mouths are small, their noses rounded and well-formed; their skin is soft, smooth, and of a very dark brown rather than black. There is very little beard or pilar hair on their bodies. The hair of their head is naturally crisp, but it is the habit of continually frizzling them that gives that expansion and loads their heads with those enormous head-dresses which struck forcibly the first Europeans who visited them. They appear to be of a timid and unenterprising character. This race has taken up its abode on the sea-border, where they live in long cabins elevated on piles plunged in the water even of the ocean. The Papuas constitute the majority of the population of the sea-shore from the Isle of Waigiou as far as Doreï. Our information respecting the most eastern parts of New Guinea is too defective to allow us to give any account of the country beyond.

Mixed with these Papuas, but in much smaller numbers,

are people of shorter stature, squat form, and a much more robust constitution of body. Their physiognomy is quite different; their countenances almost square, flat, and angular; their features "heurtés;" their cheek-bones very salient, their mouths large, lips thick, their noses more widened and sometimes pointed. Their skin, which is rougher, offers all the varieties of shade from the deep and shining brown of the Papuas and the dark and smoky hue of the Harfours, to the simply tawny colour of the Malays. These people seldom or never wear their hair dressed up in a round mass and frizzled like the Papuas; they merely tie it up and fasten it with a sort of comb, or wear on their heads something in the shape of a turban.

The individuals of this second variety have altogether the appearance of being a sort of hybrids produced by the mixture of the most eastern branches of the Malays with Papuas or the Black tribes of the Ocean. Some scarcely differ from the natives of Guebe or Ghilolo, while others approach by insensible degrees to the Papuas or black oceanic tribes.*

The third variety of people in New Guinea, or the Harfours, are supposed by M. d'Urville to be the indigenous inhabitants. They are in the parts visited by him reduced to a state of servitude. I shall cite the description given of them in a following section, in which I purpose to collect all that I can find illustrative of the history of the Alforian race.

All the inhabitants of Doreï acknowledge the sovereignty of the sultan of Tidore. They are uniformly in a very low degree of civilisation. Their habits are rude in the extreme. Their religious customs, of which M. d'Urville has given some account, consist principally, according to the observations of that writer, of the worship of ghosts or the souls of their ancestors. They ornament the tombs of the departed with idols of rude construction, which, as M. d'Urville thought, resemble the Egyptian style in its infancy, and they have houses in their villages consecrated to some kind of religious rites or worship.†

* Voyage de l'Astrolabe, tom. iv. 2de partie, p. 606.

† Ibid. tom. iv. 608.

SECTION IV.—*Papua Races in the Countries immediately to the eastward of New Guinea.*

Paragraph 1.—New Britain and New Ireland.

New Guinea and the adjacent islands of New Britain and New Ireland were supposed to form one great country till Dampier in 1700 discovered the strait which separates the two former from each other. St. George's Channel, which divides New Britain from New Ireland, was discovered by Carteret in 1767. More exact information has been obtained by D'Entrecasteaux and D'Urville. Their description of these countries resembles that of New Guinea; they are elevated mountainous lands, and covered with vast primeval forests.

Dampier says that the country called by him Nova Britannia is well inhabited by "strong well-limbed Negroes."

New Ireland was discovered by Schouten in 1616. He described the inhabitants as strong and well made, black and woolly-haired. They were all naked; only a few had girdles made of the bark of a tree. They had rings in their noses and ears, and a sort of bonnets made of pieces of bark, painted and joined together. They had the custom, which seems to be characteristic of all the black woolly-haired tribes of these regions, of chewing the areca or betel-nut.

Carteret sailed towards the north-west through the channel which separated New Britain from New Ireland. Here he fell in with several clusters of islands, and had frequent communication with the natives.

On Sandwich Island, near the north-western extremity of New Ireland, he says the people are black and woolly-haired like Negroes, but have not flat noses and thick lips. "We thought them much the same sort of people as the inhabitants of Egmont's Island. Like them, they were all stark naked, except a few ornaments made of shells upon their arms and legs."

New Ireland is a long and narrow island, consisting principally

of a chain of mountains which takes its course from north-west to south-east. This chain is continued and forms groupes or rather chains of islands running out in the same direction from both extremities of New Ireland. Towards the north-west we find New Hanover and the Admiralty Islands; towards the south-east the Isle of Bouka and Bougainville's Island, which are succeeded by the long and extensive chain of Solomon's Islands.

At the Admiralty Islands, further to the westward, were seen, says Carteret, "the same kind of people we had found before on the coast of New Ireland and Egmont Island. They were of a very dark copper colour, nearly black, with woolly heads. They chew betel-nut and go quite naked."

Labillardière describes the same people. He says their hair is crisped and black, but they frequently render it red by a mixture of ochre and oil. Their skin is a *light black*, which they sometimes adorn with red figures in different parts of their body. Their physiognomy is agreeable, and not very different from that of Europeans.*

Another cluster further to the northward is termed the Hermit Islands, "composed," says Labillardière, "like the Admiralty Islands, of one elevated central isle and a number of islots;" the whole probably of volcanic origin. The people resembled those of the Admiralty Islands, but appeared more robust.

Steering northwards from the Pacific Ocean, Carteret came to an island 50 minutes northward of the line, which he named Free-will Island. "The people here are of the Indian copper colour, the first of that complexion we had seen in these parts, with fine long black hair."

We shall now trace the series of islands which run towards the south-east from the south-eastern extremity of New Ireland.

At no great distance from that point are several groupes of islands, the principal of which is Bougainville's Island, containing lofty mountains covered with woods: the shores abound in plantations of coco-nut trees. A narrow channel separates

* Carteret's Voyage, p. 379.

this island from that of Bouka. The people of these islands are thus described by Labillardière. He says: "the colour of their skins is blackish; they are of middle stature, and being naked, their distinctly marked muscles indicated great strength. Their figure, though not very agreeable, is extremely expressive. Their heads are very large; their foreheads broad like the rest of their faces, which are very flat, especially under the nose; their chins large and prominent; their cheeks full; their noses flat; their mouths very large, and their lips very thin. The betel, which gives a bloody tinge to their large mouths, adds to the ugliness of their appearance. Their hair was curled, thick, and bushy, like that of many Papaws whom we afterwards met with."

Paragraph 2.—Solomon's Islands.

The great range of Solomon's Islands is considered to commence at Bougainville's Strait, and to terminate at Cape Oriental, the south-eastern point of the island of San Christoval. This chain of islands was discovered in 1567 by Alvaro de Mendana. Mendana made a second voyage twenty-eight years afterwards with the view of founding a Spanish colony on the island of San Christoval, but he could not find his way to the Solomon's Islands. He was said to have found these islands on his first voyage and to have lost them in his second. However, he found his way to an island not more than forty leagues distant from San Christoval, which he named Santa Cruz, and after staying there some time abandoned his further search. From the time of Mendana the Solomon's Islands were not visited till the voyage of M. Surville in the middle of the last century. Carteret, who touched at Santa Cruz, called it Egmont's Island, and the adjoining groupe Queen Charlotte's Islands. Santa Cruz is said to be called by the natives of the island Indendi, Indenni, or Nitendi, and by this last name it has been designated by some late French writers.

The natives of all these islands are described as very similar in physical characters and general condition to the

natives of New Ireland and Bougainville's Island, and they are probably all of one race, but appear to differ somewhat in complexion.

The people of Solomon's Islands are said to have yams, bread-fruit trees, and coco-nuts in abundance, and some hogs. Some of these islands are mountainous; others low and flat. The people of Santa Ysabel, perhaps the largest of them, are said, in the accounts of Mendana's voyage, to be of the complexion of Mulattoes, and to have curly hair.

Labillardière says, that the islanders of this chain, which he terms the Arsacides, bore a great resemblance to the inhabitants of Sainte Croix, or Santa Cruz.*

The people of Santa Cruz are minutely described by the Spanish voyagers. "They were of dark complexion, some more black than others, and all with woolly hair, which many among them had stained or dyed with white, red, and other colours, and some had half the head shorn; other distinctions were observed, and their teeth were stained red. Most of them were painted or stained black, so as to make them blacker than their natural colour."

Carteret informs us, that the natives of Queen Charlotte's Isles, or Santa Cruz, were black, with woolly heads, and stark naked. A native of Trevanier's Isle, one of the same cluster, had "a woolly head like that of the Negroes, and a small beard, but he was well featured and not so black as the natives of Guinea; was of common stature, and, like all the rest of these islanders, quite naked."

Section V.—*Natives of the New Hebrides.*

The chain of islands termed the New Hebrides seems to be a continuation of the chain of Solomon's Islands, a wide

* The Santa Cruz of Mendana is named by late writers Indenni and Nitendi from the designation given to the island by the natives. M. Dumont d'Urville has described this island and its inhabitants. I must refer my readers to his work. It would occupy a folio volume to describe the natives of every particular island.

space intervening between the most southern of the Solomon's Islands and the most northern of the New Hebrides.

The largest and most northerly of the latter chain was discovered by Quiros and Torres in 1605 or 1606, and was named by them Australia del Espiritu Santo. This island was described by them as a perfect paradise. "The banks of the rivers," they say, "were covered with odoriferous flowers and plants, particularly orange-flowers and sweet basil, the perfumes of which were wafted to the ships by the morning and evening breezes; and at the early dawn was heard from the neighbouring woods the mixed melody of many different kinds of birds, some in appearance like nightingales, blackbirds, larks, and goldfinches. All the parts of the country, in front of the sea, were beautifully varied with fertile valleys, plains, winding rivers, and groves, which extended to the sides of green mountains.*

The natives of Australia del Espiritu Santo are not minutely described by the Spaniards. Torres says that "they were all black and naked." A boy, carried away by Quiros, is described as of a dark colour, and with curled, that is probably, woolly hair, with good eyes and a good shape. It hence appears that these people resembled the Papuas.

Bougainville was the next European who saw Australia del Espiritu Santo. He describes the natives of the adjacent isle of Lepers:—"they are," says he, "of two colours, blacks and mulattoes;" but he adds in general terms, "that their lips are thick, their hair woolly, and sometimes of a yellowish colour. They are short, ugly, and ill-proportioned."

Captain Cook sailed round Australia; he saw many of the natives of this isle, whom he describes as being stouter and better shaped men than the inhabitants of Mallicollo. Some of them had black, short, frizzled hair, like the people of Mallicollo; others had it long, tied up on the crown of the head, and ornamented with feathers like the New Zealanders. The latter understood the language of the Friendly islanders, and appear evidently to be new occupants of Australia; they

* Burney, ii. 300.

may have found their way thither either from the Friendly Islands, which is most probable, or from some of the other groupes in this part of the Pacific Ocean, which are well known to be inhabited by tribes akin to the Friendly Islanders.

We have thus far traced an almost uninterrupted continuation between groupes of islands extending to the south-eastward, from the vicinity of New Guinea and New Ireland to the northern part of the Archipelago of the New Hebrides. The native people through the whole distance appear to have some knowledge of the islands succeeding to their own in the series. The manners and customs of these savages resemble, and there is a general resemblance in their forms and complexion. It is hence probable that the population of these chains of isles originated from the central land of New Guinea.

We may observe, that in various parts of these chains of islands, which are principally possessed by Papua tribes, strangers from the northward or eastward, from the Indian isles, or the groupes of the Pacific, have come in upon them. People, speaking the language of the Tonga isles, were found by Cook among the natives of Australia, and in the southern isles of the same groupe we have further proofs of this fact. The two races are, however, distinguishable.

The chain of the New Hebrides, which commences with the last-mentioned isle, the largest of the series, is continued towards the south-west. It may be divided into two groupes: 1, the easternmost, comprehending Mallicollo, Sandwich Isle, Apu, and several smaller ones, which form a continued cluster. These are separated by a considerable interval from the southern or western groupe, comprehending Erromanga, Tanna, Annatom, and Erronan. The people inhabiting these groupes are apparently different nations, and have no knowledge of each other; at least so it appeared to Captain Cook. They are both remarkable races.

Mallicollo appears to be a very fertile island, luxuriantly clothed with wood and other productions of nature, from the sea-shores in some parts to the very summits of the hills. It appeared to Cook well inhabited, for he saw smoke by day and fires by night in all parts of it.

The people of Mallicollo, who appear to be of the same

race as the indigenous inhabitants of Australia, are termed by Cook an ape-like nation, and the most ugly ill-proportioned people he ever saw. He says, " they are a very dark-coloured, and rather diminutive race, with long heads, flat faces, and monkey countenances." Dr. J. R. Forster says, " the natives of Mallicollo are a small, nimble, slender, and ill-favoured set of beings, who, of all men that he ever saw, border the nearest upon the tribe of monkeys. Their skulls are of a very singular structure, being from the root of the nose more depressed backwards than in any of the other races of mankind which we had formerly seen." " Their complexion is sooty, their features harsh, the cheek-bones and face broad, and the whole countenance highly disagreeable." " Their hair is in the greater part woolly and frizzled." He adds, " I observed several among these people who were very hairy all over the body, the back not excepted; and this circumstance I also observed in Tanna and New Caledonia." Captain Cook says, " their hair, mostly black or brown, is short and curly, but not quite so soft and woolly as that of the Negro. What adds most to their deformity is a belt, or cord, which they wear round the waist, and tied so tight that the shape of their bodies is not unlike that of an over-grown pismire. The men go quite naked, except a piece of cloth or leaf, used as a wrapper."*

Captain Cook says, " the people of Mallicollo seemed to be quite a different nation from any we had yet met with, and speak a different language;" Cook had been hitherto conversant with the Polynesian tribes. " They express their admiration by hissing like a goose."

Such are the people of Mallicollo, and probably of the other isles in the northern groupe of this chain. The people of the southern groupe have no knowledge of the existence of Mallicollo, or of any of the northern islands.

Captain Cook says, " At first we thought the people of Tanna and Erromanga were a race between the natives of the Friendly Isles and those of Mallicollo; but a little acquaint-

* Cook's Voy. in Hawksworth's Collection, p. 34. Forster's Observations, p. 242.

ance with them convinced us that they had little or no affinity to either, except in their hair, which is much like what the people of the latter island have, growing to a tolerable length, and very crisp and curly. The general colours of it are black and brown. Their complexion is very dark, but not quite black." Dr. Forster says, "the natives of Tanna are almost as swarthy as the New Caledonians; only a few had a clear complexion, and in these the tips of their hair were of a yellowish brown. The hair and beards of the rest are all black and crisp, nay, in some woolly."—"They separate their hair into small cues or locks, which they wind round with the rind of a slender plant.—These look like a parcel of small strings hanging down from the crowns of their heads."† Some few men, women, and children were seen who had hair like ours, but it was obvious that they were of another nation, and I think we understood they came from Erronan, the easternmost island of this groupe. It is to this island they ascribe one of the two languages which they speak, which is nearly, if not exactly, that of the Friendly Islands. It is therefore probable that Erronan was thence peopled, and that by long intercourse with Tanna and the other neighbouring isles, each has learnt the other's language, which they use indiscriminately. The other language which the Tannese speak, and, as we understood, those of Erromanga and of Annatom, is properly their own. It bears no affinity to that of Mallicollo; so that it should seem that the people of these islands are a distinct nation of themselves."

The same writer adds that these people are of the middle size, rather slender than otherwise. Forster asserts that they are tall, stout, and well-made. Both say they have good features, not resembling the Negroes or Mallicollese. The women labour hard, while the men are idle. Men and women are nearly naked.

Captain Cook has described the same race in Erromanga, where, he says, their colour is very dark, and they paint their faces black or red. Their hair is very curly and crisp, and somewhat woolly.

* Cook.

Tanna is of volcanic origin, as are probably the whole chain. It is fertile in the common productions of the South Sea Isles.

In their mode of sepulture, and in some other peculiar customs, which must have been borrowed, it seems that the Tannese resemble the people of New Zealand and the Society Isles.

I have seen a grammar of the language of Tanna in manuscript, written by the Rev. T. Heath, a missionary, who resided in that island. It is much to be regretted that this work has not been published. From this grammar it appears that the language of Tanna is entirely distinct in character from the Polynesian. It abounds with inflections and has four numbers, viz. singular, dual, trinal, there being a particular form in the verb when three persons are spoken of, which is distinct from the plural.

Section VI.—*Natives of New Caledonia.*

New Caledonia is a high mountainous country, which bears a greater analogy in its natural productions to New Holland than to the isles of the South Pacific. Captain Cook thus described the native inhabitants of New Caledonia:—"The people of New Caledonia inter their dead, and raise mounds over them somewhat after the manner of the Australian savages. They are evidently a race of the same class as the people of the New Hebrides, but of all nations known, they most resemble the Tannese. Their language resembles that of Tanna, with a mixture of the Tonga or New Zealand dialect, or of both."

"The New Caledonians are nearly of the same colour as the natives of Tanna, but have better features and more agreeable countenances, and are a stouter race, a few being seen who measured six feet four inches. I observed some who had thick lips, flat noses, and full cheeks, and in some degree the look and features of a Negro." "Their hair and beards are in general black; the former is very much frizzled, so that at first sight it appears like a Negro's. It is nevertheless very

different, being both coarser and stronger than ours." Forster says, "their hair is crisp, but not very woolly."

Labillardière has described the New Caledonians as resembling the natives of Tasmania. He says, "their hair is woolly, their persons of middle size, and their complexion as black as that of the natives of Van Diemen's Land, and that the general type of their countenance is similar to that of the people last mentioned."

Section VII.—*Natives of Tasmania.*

The following description of the physical characters of these people is from Captain Cook.

"The colour of the people of Van Diemen's Land is a dull black, and not quite so deep as that of the African Negroes. Their hair is perfectly woolly. Their noses, though not flat, are broad and full. The lower part of the face projects a good deal, as is the case of most Indians I have seen; so that a line let fall from the forehead would cut off a much larger portion than it would in an European. Their eyes are of a middling size, with the white less clear than in us. Their teeth are broad, but not equal nor well set. Their mouths are rather wide, but this appearance seems heightened by wearing their beards long and clotted with paint, in the same manner as the hair on their heads. In other respects they are well proportioned, though the belly seems rather projecting. Their manners," he adds, "resemble those of the New Hollanders in most particulars. They make huts of a similar kind, though their chief habitation is in hollow trees. They are without clothes, and cover their skins with dirt."

Section VIII.—*Black Races speaking Polynesian Dialects.*

Kelænonesia, the insular region inhabited by black races, seems to have a well-marked boundary towards the east, formed, as we have before said, by the chain of Solomon's

Islands, stretching from New Ireland to St. Christoval, which is the last or southernmost of the Arsacides, by a line drawn straight from that island to Australia del Espiritu Santo, and thence by the chain of the New Hebrides. A considerable interval lies between this line and the meridian of the Tonga Isles, which may be considered as the limit of Polynesia towards the west. In this interval there are some groupes of islands: we find, as might be expected, Polynesian tribes in some of them, and in others black races. What is remarkable is the fact that the black races speak Polynesian dialects. It would seem easy to explain this by an obvious conjecture that the people of these islands are a mixed race; but the subject is more difficult when we proceed to the investigation.

Paragraph 1. Groupe of Vanikoro, Tikopia, and the neighbouring Islands.

A chain of islands and reefs stretches nearly eastward from Nitendi or Santa Cruz, which is at no great distance from the Island of Christoval towards the Hamoan Archipelago. It consists partly of submarine islands, and may be reckoned to extend from Nitendi to Rotouma. Next to Nitendi the Island of Vanikoro, celebrated from the fate of the excellent La Pérouse, and that of Tikopia, are the most noted.

Tikopia is inhabited by a race who speak the Polynesian language, and resemble that people in physical characters.*

Vanikoro is a groupe of islands of more singular interest. It consists of three islands of unequal extent surrounded by coral reefs. On these reefs it appears that La Pérouse perished. The interior is a vast and impenetrable forest. The sea-coast is inhabited by a black race, who cultivate the taro, iguamas, bananas, and the kava. The following is the description of these people by M. d'Urville.

"We have already said that the inhabitants of Vanikoro belong to the black race of the Great Ocean. They may be

* D'Urville.

considered as a variety of that race of blacker colour than others, and of a conformation approaching more nearly to that of proper Negroes. They are generally small and rather meagre. What is most remarkable in their shape is an appearance of lateral compression of the temples, produced by a very arched forward protuberance of the middle part of the forehead. The hair does not advance low on the forehead, and the care taken to throw it back renders all these parts very visible. The cheek-bones being salient give the face a greater developement than that of the cranium. Another character not less remarkable is the small projection of the nasal bones, which gives the nose an appearance of being flattened at its root, and to the countenance a singular resemblance to that of the orang utang. Owing to this the orbital arch, itself prominent, appears still more projecting. The nostrils are wide, and are rendered still more so by the custom of wearing a stick fixed transversely through the septum narium. The lower jaw is not remarkable. The form of the forehead causes the facial angle to be not particularly acute. The lobes of the ears are perforated by a hole large enough to pass the hand through it. The eyes are large, oval, and deeply set; the balls salient, round, and resembling in form and colour those of the Negro. The lips are large, the chin small. The lower extremities are in some instances very lean, but tolerably fleshy in others. The calf is rather high, and the heel is in many individuals remarkably projecting, a character not existing in the Polynesian race to the same extent. This is another approximation to the Negro. The hair is crisp, but although not cut, it never becomes bushed and massive. They are nearly naked. The use of the betel-root destroys their teeth, and gives them a red tinge round the mouth. The women are horribly ugly; the old men are bald.

"These people, like all those who inhabit the same latitudes, are subject to leprosy, which often assumes the form of elephantiasis.

"What can we say respecting the religion of a people with whom we could with difficulty exchange some ideas relating to physical wants? They appear to have no external form

of worship, and we could discover no idols. An old chief one day conducted M. d'Urville to his atoua, which he found to be an ant's nest in the middle of a wood. Whatever thing they consecrate becomes to them an object of worship. They consecrate objects for their divinities, and when they wanted any thing from us they had the cunning to ask it for their atoua.

"What most astonished me in this island was that these people speak a dialect of the Polynesian language, and not that of New Guinea and the neighbouring islands. They were able easily to converse with the Tikopians and the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands.

"We can scarcely estimate the population of Vanikoro, in ten or twelve villages, as equal to a thousand souls. Twelve or thirteen huts contain a tribe; the huts are square or oval, and made of the broad leaves of the Vacoua; the fire is in the middle, and the smoke issues from the only aperture. We saw two or three individuals of mixed race descended from Polynesians, who appeared more robust and more intelligent than the rest."*

It would seem from this account that the Vanikorians rather belong to the type of the Puny Negroes of the Indian Seas than to the Papua race. We now proceed to a black race of a very different character.

Paragraph 2.—Natives of the Fíjían or Vítían Archipelago.

The archipelago of the Fíjí or Feejee Islands lies to the eastward of the New Hebrides, and therefore beyond the line which I have above described as the eastern limit of Kelænonesia. It is situated between 15° 30′ and 19° 30′ of south latitude. It comprises 154 islands, of which 65 are said to be inhabited, and the remaining 89 to be occasionally frequented. The distance between the Tongan and the Fíjían groupes is so short that the natives of the Tonga Islands occasionally frequent the Fíjían for the sake of traffic, and

* Voyage de l'Astrolabe, tom. v. prém. part. p. 361.

principally to obtain sandal-wood, which is a produce of the Tongan groupe. A part of the Fijian archipelago was at one time subjected to Finou, the King of Tonga. The largest island of this groupe is Viti-Levou, or Great Viti, or Pau, which is the second in extent of the eastern Oceanic islands. Kandabou, Vanoua-Levou, and Laguemba are the other principal islands. According to D'Urville the proper name of these islands is Vití or Bití, of which Fiji is a corruption in the Tonga language. The Vitian people call themselves Kaï-Biti, from the root *kaï*, which means in their language "to be" or "to live."

The Fiji islands were discovered by Tasman, who called them Prince William's Islands.

The Fijian people are a very remarkable race, and the relation they bear to the other nations of Oceanica is a problem of great interest, and at present of some difficulty.

Most voyagers describe the Vitians as a Negro race, or belonging to the black tribes of the southern ocean. Dumont d'Urville says that they are one of the finest varieties of this race. "Tall, well-made, active, and muscular, they have not that tendency to obesity which is so common among the people of Tonga. They have the upper part of the face broad, noses large and flat, large mouths, thick lips, white teeth, and full eyebrows; but their most striking character is their sooty complexion—'teint fuligineux'—and their crisp hair, which gives to their countenance a gloomy and fierce expression. Their long beards, the practice of piercing the lobe of the ear with a wide opening, the sign of astonishment expressed by placing their fingers on their mouths and then shaking them with a clapping noise, the shells worn in their collars and bracelets, their bows and arrows, and lastly, the use of earthen pots in which they keep fire, are characteristics observed among the black tribes of the Ocean. Their hair, as among these same tribes, is greased and coloured with white, red, grey, or black powder, according to the taste of individuals; and they are nearly naked, wearing only a band of cloth, rolled up in the form of a *maro*, round their loins. Nevertheless they brought and sold to us entire pieces of this cloth, some white, others adorned, and similar to the fabric

of the Tonga islanders. Their canoes also are like those of the Tongans."

The same writer has observed that in many of their characteristic habits the Fíjí people belong rather to the Polynesian than to the other division of oceanic nations. "La circoncision se pratique généralement parmi les peuples de Viti: le kava est usité chez eux, et le betel ne l'est point, bien que la noix d'arek se trouve sur leur sol. *Ces îles sont donc la limite commune de la race cuivrée ou Polynesienne, et de la race noire Océanienne ou Melanésienne.*"

We have derived much new and valuable information concerning the Vitian islands and their inhabitants from the narrative of the Exploring Voyage of the United States. The writer of this work compares the Tongan and the Vitian races. He says, "I have scarcely seen a finer-looking set of men than those who composed the suite of Tanoa, a Vitian chief. There was a great contrast between the races of Tonga and Viti, the former being of the hue of Mulattos, while the latter are *quite* black: their whole make seemed to point out a different origin. The Tongans have small joints and well-developed and rounded muscles, while the limbs of the Vitians are large and muscular: the latter are slender in body, and apparently inured to hard fare and living. The difference in manner is equally great: in the Tongans there was a native grace, combined with fair forms and an expression and carriage as if educated; while there was an air of power and independence in the Feejees which made them claim attention. They at once strike one as peculiar and unlike the Polynesian natives, having a great deal of activity both of mind and body; this may be owing in a great measure to constant wars, and the necessity of being continually on the alert to prevent surprise. It was pleasant to look upon the Tongan, but I felt more interest in the Feejees; the contrast was somewhat like that between a well-bred gentleman and a boor."

The same writer observes that although the natives of Feejee "have made considerable progress in several of the useful arts, they are, in many respects, the most barbarous and savage race now existing upon the globe. The inter-

course they have had with the white men has produced some effect on their political condition, but does not appear to have had the least influence in mitigating the barbarous ferocity of their character. In this groupe, therefore, may be seen the savage in his state of nature; and a comparison of his character with that of the natives of the groupes in which the Gospel has been profitably preached, will enable our readers to form a better estimate of the value of missionary labours than can well be acquired in any other manner."

"The Feejeeans are generally above the middle height, and exhibit a great variety of figure. Among them the chiefs are tall, well-made, and muscular; while the lower orders manifest the meagreness arising from laborious service and scanty nourishment. Their complexion lies in general between that of the black and copper-coloured races, although instances of both extremes are to be met with, thus indicating a descent from two different stocks. One of these, the copper-coloured, is no doubt the same as that whence the Tongese are derived.*

"None of them equal the natives of Tonga in beauty of person. The faces of the greater number are long, with a large mouth, good and well-set teeth, and a well-formed nose. Instances, however, are by no means rare, of narrow and high foreheads, flat noses, and thick lips, with a broad short chin; still they have nothing about them of a Negro type. Even the frizzled appearance of the hair, which is almost universal, and which at first sight seems a distinct natural characteristic, I was, after a long acquaintance with their habits, inclined to ascribe to artificial causes. Besides the long bushy beards and mustaches, which are always worn by the chiefs, they have a great quantity of hair on their body. This, with the peculiar proportion between their thighs and the calves of their legs, brings them nearer to the whites than any of the Polynesian races visited by us.

* The author says that "the question of the origin of the Feejeeans will be found ably illustrated in the Report of our philologist, Mr. Hale." This Report has not yet reached England; at least I have not been able to hear anything of it on inquiry from the English publishers of the Voyage.

"The eyes of the Feejeeans are usually fine, being black and penetrating. Some, however, have them red and blood-shot, which may probably be ascribed to ava drinking.

"The expression of their countenances is usually restless and watchful; they are observing and quick in their movements.

"The hair of the boys is cropped close, while that of the young girls is allowed to grow. In the latter it is to be seen naturally arranged in tight corkscrew locks, many inches in length, which fall in all directions from the crown of the head. The natural colour of the hair of the girls can hardly be ascertained, for they are in the habit of acting upon it by lime and pigments, which make it white, red, brown, or black, according to the taste of the individual."

On their landing they saw an Albino, who had "the features of his countrymen, although he resembled the lower class of Irish; so much so that the sailors jocosely remarked that a blunder had been committed by his having been born in a wrong country. His skin was a dirty white, and fairer than that of an European would be if exposed to the sun; he was marked with many brown spots, about the size of a sixpence or less; his hair was of the same colour as that of the natives, who use lime water for cleaning it; his eyebrows and eyelashes were of a flaxen colour; his eyes were almost constantly closed, as if the light affected them; the iris was blue, with no tinge of red. On a subsequent visit he had dyed his hair a coal black, which gave him an odd and ludicrous appearance. The natives called him Areea. He was about thirty years of age."

The religious notions of the Vitians, of which the American Voyagers have given us the best and indeed the only account, are different from those of the Polynesians.

They have a tradition that they and other races were born from two original parents. The Fíjí was first-born: he was wicked and was black: the Tongan next, was less wicked, whiter, and had therefore more clothes given to him. White men or Papalangis came last: they were virtuous, white, and had plenty of clothes. They have a tradition of a great flood, from which eight persons escaped to the island of Mbenga,

where the highest of their gods made his appearance. By virtue of this tradition the chiefs of Mbenga take precedence of all others. This seems to indicate that the tradition is at least fundamentally genuine: without such confirmation we should suspect it to be the distorted relation of something told originally by missionaries.

The Vitian pantheon contains numerous deities. The highest is Ndengei, who is worshipped in the form of a great serpent, alleged to dwell in a district near the western end of Viti-levu. He is the judge of the dead, but all spirits are not able to reach his abode. A great giant armed with an axe stands in the way and attempts to wound them, and wounded spirits cannot appear before Ndengei: they wander about the mountains. Next to Ndengei Toikarambe and Tai Lakambe come: they are sons of Ndengei. His grandchildren are likewise numerous; they preside over woods and forests. In addition to their beneficent gods they have malicious ones, who dwell in Mbulu or Hades, a subterranean vault. They have various notions about the fate of the dead: the only general fact is that a belief in the future state of spirits is universally and undoubtingly received. It is connected with no notion of religious or moral obligation. The passage to the future state is looked upon as a removal from a state of suffering to one of happiness. The Ambate or priests have great influence and support the power of the chiefs. The office of Ambate is mostly hereditary.

Formal human sacrifices are common, and the victims are usually brought from a distant tribe. They are fattened, and, when ready, are tied by cords in a sitting posture, and are placed in an oven, where they are roasted alive. When cooked, the body is carried to the mbara, where it is offered to the gods, and then is removed and cut up to be eaten by the people. Women are not allowed to eat human flesh. Human sacrifices are a prelude to nearly all their undertakings. When Tanoa launches a canoe, ten or more men are slaughtered on the deck that it may be washed with human blood.

The Vitians are said to be generally kind to their parents and relatives, but they always strangle them or bury them

alive when they get old and infirm, and the aged willingly submit to this proceeding, by which they escape from the sufferings of old age, as they imagine, to a state of happiness. "It is almost impossible," says Captain Wilkes, "to conceive the horrible particulars that have come under the personal observation of the missionaries and are not for a moment to be doubted. They told me that during their residence they had known only one instance of a natural death, all having been strangled or buried alive. Children usually strangle their feeble and aged parents, and the sick who have long been ill are always killed."

It was long ago observed that the language of the Fíjí differs from the Polynesian dialects, and yet contains a great number of Polynesian words. This fact has generally been explained as a result of late intercourse between the Fíjí and Tonga people, who, as we have remarked, actually carry on traffic and are well acquainted with each other. It has been supposed that the Fíjí language was originally a Papuan or Negro aboriginal dialect, and that the Polynesian words used by the islanders have been borrowed from Tonga.

That the Fíjíans use Tongan words for particular objects is probable, but it appears, from what M. de Humboldt has observed respecting the Fíjían language, that its relations with the Polynesian are of a very different kind from that which has been generally supposed.

M. de Humboldt says that the words in the Fíjí language often coincide with the western dialects of the Malayo-Polynesian language, in examples in which the latter differ from the proper Polynesian or the idioms of islanders in the Pacific. Thus the moon is in Tonga and Hawaiian *mahina;* in Tahitian and N. Zeal. *marama;* in Malay, *bŭlan;* Búghis, *ulŏng;* Malecass. *voulan, volu;* in Fíjí, *booloo* or *bŭlŭ.* Stone or rock is in the Fíjían *battoo* or *battú;* in Tagala, *bátu;* in Malay, *bătu;* in Malecass. *watu;* "while no similar word occurs in any of the Polynesian languages, the Fíjían excepted."* *Salago* is in the Fíjían vocabulary in M. de Humboldt's possession "to depart:" the root is *lago,* which

* Humboldt, Kawi-Sp. p. 219.

seems to be the Javanese *laku*, Tagala, *lakar*. A considerable number of Fíjían vocables were not recognised by M. de Humboldt in the Malayo-Polynesian language, but this he attributes to imperfect knowledge as yet obtained of that language as subsisting in its various dialects. He is not disposed on that account to suspect that these words were derived from any dialect of Papuan or black races, because no Malayan idiom whatever, as far as he knows, betrays the effect of any such influence.*

Note on the Fíjían language.

Mr. Norris, the learned secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, who is accurately acquainted with the idiom of New Zealand, and has a general knowledge of the Polynesian dialects, has carefully investigated the relations which exist between these dialects and the Fíjían language. The translations of some parts of the New Testament into that language have afforded him adequate resources for this examination. He has obligingly communicated to me the results of this inquiry. The following are the most remarkable of his observations.

" The Fíjí language is connected with the Polynesian in words and in grammatical construction.

" The elementary laws which govern the construction of words are the same. Thus the Fíjí, like the Polynesian dialects, does not admit the use of double consonants. The *dr* which occurs in Fíjí, is in Mr. Norris's opinion only a harsh *r*, as *dra*, *odra*, for *ra*.

" The numerals and the pronouns are cognate with the Polynesian, and the verbs are conjugated by the aid of particles identical with the Polynesian. It will be necessary to display this affinity by more detailed observations.

* " Viele dieser Wörter aber würden sich gewiss bei genauerer Untersuchung, doch als Wörter des Malaischen Stammes erweisen und dann darf man nicht vergessen, dass man bei weitem nicht alle Wörter des grossen Stammes kennt. Ich würde daher darum noch nicht an einen Einfluss der schwarzen Bewohner des Insel-Oceans denken, da von einem solchen Einfluss in keiner Mal. Sprache so, viel ich weiss, sichere Spuren vorhanden sind." M. de Humboldt says that in some instances Fíjían words serve to explain the derivation of Polynesian vocables. He has given some examples in a note, p. 298.

" The definite article is *a*, as *a liga*, ' the hand'. It forms the plural by adding *loga*, which is probably cognate with the Tonga *loa*, meaning ' large', ' extensive', as *a loga liga*, ' the hands'. This addition is analogous to *man*, which forms the plural in the Tahitian. Unlike the habit of other Polynesian dialects, the *a* becomes *na* after a preposition, as *i-na-liga*, ' in the hand'. Still more curious is the fact that some nouns produce a change in the preceding word, causing it to end in *i* if it be an article or pronoun. Thus, ' the staff' is *ai jitoko*, for *a jitoko*;—' the leaves', *a logai puli*, for *a loga puli*;—' in their purses', *i na odrai oro*, for *odra oro*.

" The adjectives follow the substantives in all these idioms.

" The pronouns are:—

Singular,	I,	*au*
	Thou,	*ko*
	He,	*koi, koya*
Dual,	We exclusive,*	*kei rau*
	You,	*drau*
	They,	*rau*
Plural,	We exclusive,	*kei tou*, and *kei mami*
	We inclusive,*	*ta* and *tatou*
	Ye,	*dru*
	They,	*ra*, and *ratou*

" The possessives are *a gou*, ' my', or *a goui*, (before certain words as mentioned before;)—*a oma*, ' thy';—*a ona*, ' his';—*a odrau*, ' their' (dual);—*a weta*, ' our' (plur.);—*a omodou*, ' your';—*a odra*, ' their'. The possessive may also be made by an affix, (unlike other Polynesian languages, as far as I know, but like some African, Tartar, Finnish, and Semitic tongues,) as *ligayu*, ' my hand'; *ligama*, ' thy hand'; *ligana*, ' his hand'; *ligadra*, ' their hand', &c. There is also an honorific *thou*, as in the Javanese; it is *kemumi* instead of *ko*, and in the possessive *omumi* and *munu* instead of *omu* and *mu*. All the pronouns may be made more emphatic by adding *koi*, which is the emphatic article in Tonga and some other dialects, as *koi au, ego ipse; koi ko, tu ipse*, &c. The ordinary *koi-koyu* seems to have it always, and even double, if, as I suspect, *koyu* is *koiu* of New Zealand and other Polynesian languages. This *koi-koyu*

* *We*, exclusive of the person addressed; *we*, inclusive of the person addressed. The possession of this double *we* is characteristic of the Polynesian languages.

and the others when compounded with *koi* are constructed with verbs as if they were substantives.

" The verbs are much as in the Maorian and Hawaiian. The following examples shew this resemblance.

" Pronouns come before verbs; substantives follow, pronouns with *koi* being in this respect like substantives: as *ra a tauri*, 'they took'; *e taraii Pitera ko Jisu*, or, ' Jesus takes Peter'; *ka tala koi-koya*, ' he commanded'. The present tense takes *e* if a noun is the nominative, and is put alone if a pronoun, as, *au kilaii ke munu*, ' I know thee'. The past tense takes *a* with a pronoun, and is put alone with a noun. The future takes *na* with a pronoun, and *ena* with a noun. All this is very much like what exists in other Polynesian dialects; but now comes a characteristic which I have found in no other language. Most verbs either end in *a* radically, or take some syllable ending in *a*, as *ca*, *ma*, *va*, *ta*, &c., or the word *takina*, to make them verbs. When their verbs come before a pronoun or proper name in the accusative case, the *ca*, *ma*, *va*, *takina*, become *ci*, *mi*, *vi*, *takini*, and *ta* becomes *ji*. An example or two will explain this:—*Ka tauva koi-koya a liga*, (Mark v. 41.) ' he took the hand'; *ka ra a tauvi koi koya*, (Mark xii. 8.) ' they took him'. In the first example *koi koya* is *he*, and in the second *him*. This change into *i* is not made when the accusative is a noun substantive, as *ka tauva a ligana*, (Mark i. 31.) ' he took her hand', unless it be a proper name, as in Mark xvi. 60, *ha taroji Jisu*, ' and asked Jesus'. It is evident that this adds much to perspicacity; for example, the above expression, *ka tala koi-koya*—' and he commanded'—if written *ka tala ii koi-koya*, would be, ' and commanded him'. The *vaca* so common in the New Zealand, and answering to the *faa* of Tahiti and the *facca* of Tonga, is common in Fíji, as *bula*, ' life',—*vaca bula*, ' to save'; *reve*, ' fear'; *vaca reve*, ' to make afraid'. There is another syllable, *vei*, not found in New Zealand or Tahiti, but like the *fy* of Tonga, as *kaya*, ' speak'; *veikayahi*, ' to converse';—*serau*, ' to see'; *veiserauyahi*, ' to look round';—*taroga*, ' ask'; *veitaroga*, ' ask each other'. The doubling of words and syllables is as common as in the Malay and other languages of this family, as *vala*, ' to do'; *valavala*, ' habit of doing';—*rawa*, ' to be able'; *rawarawa*, ' easy', ' possible'. The first syllable also is repeated as in New Zealand, as *cecegu*, ' rest', for *cegu*; *loloma*, ' pity', for *loma*."

These observations prove, as Mr. Norris concludes, that the Fíjían is really a Polynesian dialect, though offering peculiarities not found

in any other, and having a vocabulary so peculiarly modified that it requires some examination to perceive the resemblances, while the other Polynesian idioms display their proofs of affinity as it were at a glance.

Comparison of words in the Fíjí and Maorian languages.

Fíjí.	*Maori.*	*English.*
arau	rau	a leaf
ika	*ika*	fish
mata	mata	eye
mana	mana	strong
mari	muri	after
rogo	rongo	pear
tagi	tangi	cry
vai	vui	water
luku	luhu	have
tuli	turi	deaf
nei	nei	this
una	unu	drink
mai	mai	hither
lagi	rangi	sky
liga	ringa	hand
tamata	tangata	man

" Many words look as if they had been corrupted from the Fíjían form to that of the Maorian, as *tangane*, F. (' male') *tane*, M.;—*moœ*, F. (' ship'), *moe*, M.;—*meca*, F. (' thing'), *mea*, M. The Maori word *tuakana* (' elder brother') is the Fíjí *tuaka-na* (' his elder brother'); *teina* (' younger brother' in M.) is *taci-na* (' his younger brother') in Fíjí.

" Most of these are Tonga words also; but I find some words in Fíjí like those in Tonga, which I do not remember in the New Zealand, as *kato*, ' a basket'; *masima*, ' salt'; *kova*, ' clothes'; *dodonu*, ' clean'; *(totonoo*, Tonga); *puli*, ' govern', *(booli)*; *tama*, ' father', *(tammy)*: *vula*, ' moon', is like the Bugis *bulan*."

Since these remarks were written, the able work describing the countries visited on the Exploring Expedition sent out from the United States has come into my hands. The conclusion adopted respecting the Fíjían language is there confirmed. The author says:—" The missionaries were at first inclined to doubt the affinity between the Feejee and other languages of Polynesia; but after close study they have become perfectly satisfied that it is no more than a branch

from the great root whence all the Polynesian languages have been derived."*

The origin of the Fíjían race yet remains in some degree of obscurity. They are doubtless intermixed with the neighbouring people of the Tonga Islands, but it is very doubtful whether this is the origin of their affinity to the Polynesian race. Captain Wilkes says that the natives of different islands are of different stature, and that some have their forms more fully developed than others. Those who have Tonga blood are designated as the Vitonga, and they are decidedly the best-looking among the natives. These are to be found more in the eastern islands than elsewhere, showing the effects of intercourse. It would seem unlikely that an intercourse so recent as to be remarked in the present day and clearly remembered can have given origin to such a language and nation as those of the Vitian Islanders. The general population of the Fíjían isles have a peculiar language, which is not merely intermixed with Tonga, but is a genuine and essentially related but distinct dialect of the ancient Polynesian. The native Fíjíans appear to be almost such a people as the Madecassians; and though we cannot venture on an opinion that they are descended from the inhabitants of that island, it seems likely that they sprang from some remote western branch of the Malayo-Polynesian family. This at least is the conclusion to which the analogies of their language seem to point. They evidently resemble the Papuas in many particulars of their physical character, but differ from them remarkably in one important respect. The Papuas are every where a sluggish and inert people, endowed with little energy and activity either of body or mind, while the Fíjí people are very remarkable for both, and are, contrary to the general fact, though a black race, very superior in vigour and enterprise to the more civilised and fairer Tongans. But they are yet depraved savages and unimproved in moral character. Captain Wilkes says they "are truly wretches in the strongest sense of the term, and depraved beyond the conception of civilised people." He adds, "for the sake of decency and to avoid shocking the moral sense of my readers, I have refrained from relating many things which happened under my own eyes."

M. de Humboldt has further observed, and the remark is a very striking one, that the manners and customs of the Fíjíans have some traits of a decidedly western or Indo-Malayan origin. Such is the custom of burning widows in the funerals of their husbands, which is

* Exploring Expedition, vol. iii. p. 325.

mentioned in Mariner's account of the Fíjians. Although this custom prevails in the family of the high-priest of Tonga, it is plainly a habit borrowed from their more powerful Fíjían neighbours by the Tongans, who have also adopted from them their manner of wàrfare.*

Section IX.—*Of the Alforians, Alfourous, or Haraforas.*

I must now mention the third class of black nations enumerated in the beginning of this chapter. They are termed Alforas and Haraforas by English writers, by the Dutch Alfoers, and by some Alfourous and Harfours. The proper name of the people is unknown, if indeed they have any general designation belonging to them.

It is only of late that the Alforas have been supposed to inhabit the interior of New Guinea. Older writers had supposed the central parts of that great island or rather continent to be entirely occupied by Papuas. The Haraforas were indeed mentioned by Forrest, but it is to MM. Lesson and D'Urville that we owe the first description of them in New Guinea. I have already cited M. Lesson's account of their bodily formation,† and I shall now add some further particulars from M. Dumont d'Urville.

The Harfours of M. d'Urville are the third variety of people mentioned by that writer among the inhabitants of New Guinea. I shall cite his account.

" Enfin, quoique beaucoup moins nombreuse se distingue une troisième variété d'hommes, petits, agiles, et vigoureux comme les précédens. Mais leurs traits sauvages, leurs yeux hagards, leur teint fuligineux, et leur maigreur habituelle, rappellent à l'instant le type ordinaire des Australiens, des Nouveaux Calédoniens, en général des Océaniens de la race noire. Ces hommes, fidèles aux usages de leur race, pratiquent le tatouage par cicatrices, marchent habituellement nus ou couverts seulement d'une ceinture, et laissent flotter leurs cheveux à l'aventure, ou se contentent de les entortiller en mêches, comme dans les autres isles de l'Ocean Pacifique. Je

* Humboldt, p. 298. † Vol. i. p. 255.

ne doute nullement que ces derniers hommes ne soient les vrais indigènes du pays : les Arfakis et les Harfours, que j'ai eu l'occasion de voir, se rapportent à cette variété, et le fait sera avéré si l'on reconnoit un jour que les habitans de l'interne de la Nouvelle Guinée appartient aussi à la même famille.

" Les véritables indigènes sont les plus misérables. La plupart semblent réduits à un état de servitude, ou au moins de domesticité. Il est probable qu'ils sont les descendans d'une race conquise. Nous avons déjà raconté que les Arfakis des environs de Doreï vivent dans un état d'hostilité perpetuelle avec les Papous à l'exception d'une petite peuplade qui avoit fait alliance avec ceux-ci. Néanmoins ces derniers Arfakis ne parloient ni le Malais, ni le Papoua, et les Papous exercent une sorte de monopole sur les productions de leur sol."

The people termed Arfaki are inhabitants of the mountains of Arfak in the interior of New Guinea, which extend from the harbour of Dorei to the Cape of Good Hope.*

Nearly all voyagers in the Indian Ocean decribe the Harforas or Alfourous as forming a considerable part of the population of all the islands approaching the south-eastern border of the Archipelago. In Borneo, Celebes, the Moluccas, New Guinea, they are mentioned by Dutch, English, and French writers under the names of Alfoers, Harfours, Alfourous, Haraforas. Nothing can be more puzzling than the contradictory accounts which are given of their physical characters and manners. The only point of agreement between different writers respecting them is the circumstance that all represent them as very low in civilisation and of fierce and sanguinary habits. With respect to their physical characters they are represented sometimes as remarkably fair and even of lighter complexion than the Polynesians, while others, among whom is Dr. Quoy, a distinguished naturalist, who accompanied M. de Freycinet, found it difficult to separate them from the Papuas. I believe the real solution of these contradictory and perplexing facts has been given to me by

* D'Urville, Voy. de l'Astrolabe, tom. iv. 606.

Mr. Earle, who has communicated to me his opinion as follows:—

"The history of the Arafuras has excited in my mind an intense curiosity, and my inquiries respecting them commenced immediately on my arrival in the countries which they are supposed to inhabit. The result has been very different from my expectations. I have seen abundant numbers of Arafuras in Timor, the Serwatty Islands, and in the Arru Islands, and many specimens of the people so termed in New Guinea, and I have discovered that they are not, as generally supposed, a distinct people. The name is applied generally to the inhabitants of the interior of all the islands in which the Amboyna dialect of the Malayan language is understood. After having been much puzzled for some time, I at length discovered, as I think with certainty, that this word is one of the many of Portuguese extraction which have passed into the Malayan language. The original is Alforas, the Portuguese term for 'manumitted slaves,' and for want of a better designation they applied this name to all the free inhabitants of the interior of the Molucca Islands to distinguish them from those who dwell with them in towns."

Mr. Earle has sent me two specimens of the hair of Arafuras. One is red lank hair, like that of a fair European. The red hair is from the head of a girl ten or eleven years of age. Nearly all the inhabitants of the same village near the north-eastern extremity of Timor, in which she dwells, had hair of the same colour, and their complexion is much fairer than that of the other inhabitants of the Archipelago, while many were speckled. The other specimen is from the head of a New Guinea Arafura, who was a complete Papua. Mr. Earle adds:—"It is still possible that there may be another race in the interior of New Guinea, but I think I should have heard of it had it been the fact."

It seems extremely probable that Mr. Earle is correct in his opinion respecting the Alforas, and that the people known by this name in the Indian islands are all tribes of the Malayo-Polynesian race, who remain in their uncivilised and primitive state.

But what becomes of the Alforian race described as an aboriginal and distinct people, having a peculiar type and a configuration of the skull peculiar to themselves? They yet remain one of the most remarkable varieties of mankind. We must still refer to them, the mountaineers of Arfak in New Guinea, the natives of which were seen and, as it appears, accurately described by M. Lesson, and likewise all the native tribes of the great Continent of Australasia.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE NATIVES OF AUSTRALASIA.

SECTION I.—*Discovery of different Parts of Australasia, and Subdivision of the Coast into different Regions.*

THE great island or separate continent of Australasia, long known under the name of New Holland, is said to have been descried by Portuguese navigators from the Spice Islands before the year 1542. The first designation that it received was that of New Java, under which it is distinctly marked in an old map bearing the date above specified. The extent of the country was entirely unknown, and its very existence was a matter of uncertainty until the year 1606, when a Dutch ship named the Duythen from Bantam sailed along 300 leagues of the northern coast to the westward of Torres' Straits. All the information obtained by the navigators of the Duythen is comprised in the following expressions. "This vast country was found for the most part desert. In certain places, however, savages were met with, black, cruel, and fierce, who murdered some of the crew. Nothing could be learned from them about the country. Even water and provisions could not be procured, and the want of these was so great in the crew as to prevent them from further pursuing their discoveries." The point to which the Dutchmen advanced along this coast was called by them Cape Keerwier or Cape Return.* In the same year the celebrated Spanish navigator, Don Luis Vaes de Torres, second in command under Fernandez de Quiros, having separated from his admiral after the

* I have taken this account from the excellent summary of Dumont d'Urville.

discovery of the island called Australia del Espiritu Santo, found the strait which now bears his name, and which separates the southern part of New Guinea from the northern extremity of the greater Australia,* now called Cape York.

Ten years later, in 1616, Dirck Hatticks, captain of the Dutch merchant vessel Eendracht, discovered a part of the western coast and named it after his ship "the land of Eendracht." In 1619 Edel gave his name to a part of the same sea-border lying to the southward of the great reef called Houtman's Abrolhos; and three years afterwards the south-western cape near King George's Sound was discovered by the navigators of the ship Leeuwin. Peter Nuytz, on board the Gulde Zeepaard, sailed in 1627 along the southern shore of Australasia from the promontory of Leeuwin. He is supposed to have coasted along a thousand miles from the cape just mentioned to the bottom of the southern bight, leaving all the remainder of the coast in this direction to be explored for the first time by navigators of the present age. To the northward of Dirck Hatticks' discoveries, that part of the continent which bears the name of Arnheim's Land was explored in 1627 by Jan Carsten and the crew of the ship Arnheim sent from Amboyna. Carsten appears to have perished by the weapons of the Australian savages. In 1628 De Witt gave his name to a part of the western coast to the northward of the so-termed north-west cape. Tasman, who in 1643 had discovered the island which long bore the name of Van Diemen, the Dutch governor of Batavia, and which till the expedition of Bass was always supposed to be a part of the main land of New Holland, explored in a second voyage the north-western coast of Australasia between De Witt's Land and the Gulf of Carpentaria. This he likewise named Van Diemen's Land. In 1688 and 1699 Dampier sailed along a part of the north-western coast, and this intelligent and enterprising navigator was the first, as M. Dumont d'Urville has remarked, who gave to the world any valuable

* Australasia is, perhaps, the most correct name for this great country, but as Australia is also a customary appellation and is shorter, I shall take the liberty of using them indifferently.

information as to the nature of the Australian country and the productions of its soil. It was reserved for Captain Cook to explore the ocean-ward or eastern coast, which he traced, a hundred years after the voyage of Dampier, from Cape Howe, near its southern extremity, to Cape York, the northernmost point of the whole island. The general form of Australasia was thus made known. An account of the discoveries of Bass and the voyage of Flinders, who explored the eastern part of the southern shore from Bass's Strait to Nuytz's Land, and of the expedition under King commissioned to complete the survey, belongs to the later history of nautical science.

I have thus briefly mentioned the principal discoveries of different portions of the Australian coast, not merely as a matter of historical interest, but because they furnish geographical limits and epithets distinguishing the different parts of this great country from each other. When the history of various tribes among the native inhabitants shall have become known, it is not unlikely that their national distinctions may furnish more appropriate local names; but while such information is wanting, the best method of designating the different parts of this country is by naming them after the original discoverers.

If we trace the sea-border of New Holland round from west to east, we shall find no difficulty in subdividing it on the principle suggested, and in fact a great part of the whole coast is already thus distinguished in our maps. The great bay or almost semicircular bending of the coast to the westward of Bass's Straits is divided into two nearly equal parts. From the extremity of Bass's Strait to the inmost recess of the great bight, the coast was chiefly explored by Flinders, and this part of New Holland has been called Flinders' Land. This term has given way to that of South Australia, while Australia Felix, as it is well known, is of more limited import, and designates a smaller country near the eastern extremity of Bass's Strait. From the bottom of the gulf or bight where Flinders' Land or South Australia terminates, the coast, being still part of the southern border of New Holland, is called Nuytz's Land. This reaches to the great south-eastern promontory of King George's Sound. The country near

King George's Sound is Leeuwin's Land, and this name may serve to designate the territory reaching from the south-western cape as far as to the thirtieth degree of south latitude on the western coast. To the northward of Leeuwin's Land, Edel's Land reaches on the western coast as far northward as Freycinet's Harbour or as Dirk Hartog's Island. Eendracht's Land, and to the northward of it, De Witt's Land, extend further north to the twentieth degree of latitude, and nearly to the cluster of islands which has received the name of Dampier's Archipelago. The remaining portion of the western coast of Australia, looking towards the north-west, was formerly called Van Diemen's Land; but as this term, if continued to be used, might occasion mistakes, the same name having been given to the Island of Tasmania, it will be advisable to substitute that of Dampier's Land, after the navigator who first described the country and its inhabitants with any degree of accuracy. Dampier's Land may reach to the cape which terminates this line of coast towards the north, named in late maps Cape Diemen. Arnheim's Land is the northern region, which reaches thence to the Gulf of Carpentaria. The whole eastern side of New Holland has the name of New South Wales, too well established in use to be easily changed; but it has lately been proposed to divide this long line into two parts, and to term the northern Torres' Land, and the southern part Cook's Land.*

These names for the different parts of the sea-border of Australia may be extended to the inland regions, as yet little known, behind the coast, which it will be necessary to distinguish when we attempt to investigate the history and mutual relations of the various tribes of native inhabitants.

SECTION II.—*General Descriptions of the different Tribes on the Australian Coast.*

The earliest account of the natives of any part of Australia is due to Dampier, who in his quaint but graphical style has

* See Captain Vetch on the Geography of Australia, Journal of the Geographical Society, vol. viii. p. 166.

described the inhabitants of the coast about the twenty-fifth degree to the southward of the line.

" The inhabitants of this country are the miserablest people in the world. The Hodmadods of Monomotapa, though a nasty people, yet for wealth are gentlemen to these; who have no houses and skin garments, sheep, poultry, and fruits of the earth, ostrich eggs, &c. as the Hodmadods have; and setting aside their humane shape, they differ but little from brutes. They are tall, straight-bodied, and thin, with small long limbs. They have great heads, round foreheads, and great brows. Their eyelids are always half closed, to keep the flies out of their eyes, they being so troublesome here, that no fanning will keep them from coming to one's face, and without the assistance of both hands to keep them off, they will creep into one's nostrils, and mouth too, if the lips are not shut very close. So that from their infancy, being thus annoyed with these insects, they do never open their eyes as other people, and therefore they cannot see far, unless they hold up their heads as if they were looking at something above them.

" They have great bottle noses, pretty full lips, and wide mouths. The two fore teeth of their upper jaw are wanting in all of them, men and women, old and young; whether they draw them out I know not; neither have they any beards. They are long-visaged, and of a very unpleasing aspect, having no one graceful feature in their faces. Their hair is black, short, and curled, like that of the Negroes, and not long and lank, like that of the common Indians. The colour of their skins, both of their faces and the rest of their body, is coal black, like that of the Negroes of New Guinea.

" They have no sort of clothes, but a piece of the rind of a tree tied like a girdle about their waists, and a handful of long grass, or three or four small green boughs full of leaves, thrust underneath their girdle to cover their nakedness.

" They have no houses, but lie in the open air without any covering, the earth being their bed, and the heavens their canopy.*

* P. 466.

In a subsequent voyage Dampier again visited the coast of New Holland. The place he then touched at was about forty or fifty leagues to the south-west of his former landing-place. He says the people here had the most unpleasing looks and the worst features he ever saw; and adds, "These were much the same blinking creatures, (here being also abundance of the same kind of flesh flies teasing them,) and with the same black skins, and hair frizzled, tall, and thin, &c. as those were. But we had not the opportunity to see whether these, as the former, wanted two of their fore-teeth."

We have full and satisfactory accounts of the physical characters of the Australians on different parts of the coast and of the interior from many celebrated voyagers, and from persons who have resided in the English colonies. Among them I must mention Captain Cook and Captain Flinders, Mr. Collins, M. Péron, M. Lesson, Captain Dumont d'Urville, Captain Fitzroy, Captain Gray. It would be a tiresome and useless repetition if I were to extract the passages from all these writers in which they have described the natives of Australia. All their accounts agree in the principal points. The only material difference noted is in the bulk and stature, which in the northern parts, and where the people have a better supply of food, are much greater than in barren deserts where the race appears to have dwindled under a process of almost starvation, to which they have been subjected for successive generations. The colour of the skin varies likewise in some instances to a much lighter hue, but this appears to be a sporadic variety, and never to affect a whole clan as far as we yet know. The colour of the hair is, however, in some inland districts brown instead of black.*

I shall terminate this section by citing one of the latest description of these people, viz. that given by the writer of the late Exploring Expedition sent from the United States.

"The natives of Australia differ," says Mr. Wilkes, "from any other race of men in features, complexion, habits, and language. Their colour and features assimilate them to the African type; their long black silky hair has a resemblance

* Mitchell's Travels in Australia.

to the Malays; in their language they approximate more nearly to our American Indians, while there is much in their physical traits, manners, and customs, to which no analogy can be traced in any other people.

" The natives are of middle height, perhaps a little above it; they are slender in make, with long arms and legs. From their wandering life, irregular habits, and bad food, they are extremely meagre, and as their thinness is accompanied by considerable protuberance of the abdomen, it gives to their figure a distorted and singular appearance. The cast of the face is between the African and Malay: the forehead usually narrow and high, the eyes small, black, and deep-set: the nose much depressed at the upper part between the eyes, and widened at the base, which is done in infancy by the mother, the natural shape being of an aquiline form; the cheek-bones are high, the mouth large, and furnished with strong well-set teeth; the chin frequently retreats; the neck is thin and short. Their colour usually approaches chocolate, a deep umber, or reddish black, varying much in shade; and individuals of pure blood are sometimes as light-coloured as Mulattoes. Their most striking distinction is their hair, which is like that of the dark-haired Europeans, although more silky. It is fine, disposed to curl, and gives them a totally different appearance from the African and also from the Malay and American Indian. Most of them have thick beards and whiskers, and they are more hairy than the Whites."

They have, as we are assured by the American commander, some idea of a future state, " although some assert that the whole man dies, and that nothing is left of him; while others are of opinion that his spirit yet lives, either as a wandering ghost or in a state of metamorphosis, animating a bird or other creature of a lower order than man.

" Their opinions on religious subjects generally partake of the same unsettled character, which makes it very difficult to obtain any clear idea of them. The great difficulty is the unwillingness of the natives to talk upon the subject, either from superstition or shame; and it is the opinion of the missionaries that no full account of their religious notions will

be obtained until one of the well-informed adults is converted to Christianity, an event which is not soon to be expected. The missionaries have had little or no success: none of the adults have hitherto shown any desire to embrace Christianity; and it is remarked that there appears to be a want of susceptibility in their character to religious impressions. Some of their ceremonies which partook of that character have been discontinued of late years, and no others have been adopted in their place. They have, however, some indistinct notions of a Deity. The missionaries at Wellington have heard from them of a being whom they call Bai-a-mai, and whom, with his son Burambin, they deem the creator of all things. To this Bai-a-mai, they pay a kind of annual worship by dancing and singing a song in his honour. This song, they say, was brought from a distant country by strangers who went about teaching it. This annual worship took place in the month of February, and all who did not join in it were supposed to incur the displeasure of the god.

" Bai-a-mai was supposed to live in an island beyond the great sea of the coast and to eat fish, which, when he required food, came up at his call from the water. Burambin, others say, was brought into existence by Bai-a-mai, when the missionaries first came to Wellington.

" Dararwirgal is a brother of Bai-a-mai, and lives in the far west. To him they ascribe the origin of the small-pox, which has made such ravages among them. They say he was vexed for want of a tomahawk, and therefore sent that disease among them, but they now suppose that he has obtained one, and that the disease will come no more.

" Balumbals are angels, said to be white, who live on a mountain to the north-west at a great distance. Their food is honey, and their employment like that of the missionaries.

" Wandong is their evil spirit, whom they have learned from the Whites to call the ' Devil.' They describe him as a gigantic black man, always prowling about at night, ready to seize and devour any unfortunate wanderer. So great is their horror of this imaginary being, that they never venture from their fires at night, except under the pressure of great

necessity, when they always carry a firebrand to intimidate the monster."

We are assured by Mr. Wilkes that Australian children are in general equal to English children in their manifestations of intellect.*

SECTION III.—*Moral State of the Australians.—Ethnographical Traits.*

The Australians are generally considered to be at least one of the most degraded and savage races in the world, and some writers have represented them as scarcely endowed with reason. M. Bory de St. Vincent imagines in their very aspect "a most deplorable resemblance to the physiognomy of the Mandril." "Il n'y manque," he adds, "que ces rides latérales, et les couleurs vives dont la Nature semble se plaire à enlaider encore les grands singes; mais comme si l'Australasien eût envié ces bizarres attributs; il emprunte de l'art les teintes que la nature lui réfusa. Il barbouille ses pommettes proéminentes, son front, la pointe de son nez légèrement aquilin, et son menton carré, avec une terre d'un rouge de sang." "Les plus bruts des hommes, les derniers sortis des mains de la nature, sans réligion, sans lois, sans arts, vivans misérablement par couples, totalement étrangers à l'état social, les Australasiens n'ont pas la moindre idée de leur nudité." "On ne leur connait pas d'habitations; pas même de tentes. A peine, lorsqu'ils allument du feu pour faire cuire des coquillages, se forment-ils un abri du côté du vent avec quelques branchages grossièrement assemblés, et qui ne sauraient les garantir de la pluie, à laquelle ils démeurent exposés avec une résignation stupide. L'arc tout simple qu'il est leur est inconnu: ils n'ont d'autres armes que de longues piques, si des perches à peine dressées peuvent mériter ce

* Two Australian boys, now in this country, were lately exhibited at the Ethnological Society in London. Their faculties appeared quite as acute as those of white boys of the same age, and they are said to be just as capable of receiving instruction. They have very much the aspect of Negro boys, are equally black, but have long bushy hair.

nom. Ils employent aussi des massues fort courtes ou casse-têtes, et des très petits boucliers."

Captain Gray, to whom we are indebted perhaps more than to any other writer for information respecting the native tribes of Australia, and who, being well acquainted with their language and habits, is most worthy of reliance, has given us a very different view from that commonly entertained of the character of the Australian savages. According to Captain Gray the brutalised state in which they are found to exist is not the permanent result of naturally defective reason, but the incidental effect of a complex and artfully contrived system of customs and institutions, which, though injurious in their tendency, clearly evince the possession and exercise of intellectual faculties—"complex laws, which not only deprive the Australian of all free agency of thought, but at the same time, by allowing no scope whatever for the developement of any great moral qualification, necessarily bind him down to a hopeless state of barbarism, from which it is impossible for him to emerge while these laws are so ingeniously devised as to have a direct tendency to annihilate any effort to overthrow them." The laws to which Mr. Gray alludes are a very complicated set of regulations for marriage and the constitution of society. One remarkable circumstance is the universality of these ideas. "They cannot be considered as local institutions, because the same customs and traditional laws are found to regulate the conduct of the Australian tribes on one side in the northern provinces of New South Wales, and on the other near the western coast. Captain Gray says he has ascertained the existence of the same customs which are known to prevail on the Murrumbidgee not only on the western coast, but in several other parts of New Holland. Throughout the Australian continent the same laws are prevalent, and this is the more remarkable, as the only depository and exposition of them is in mere oral tradition.*

One of the most remarkable facts connected with these observations is that the Australians are divided into certain great

* Journal of Discoveries, vol. ii. p. 220.

families, all the members of each having the same family name. The principal families are the Ballaroke, the Tdondarup, the Ngotok, the Nagarnook, the Nogonyuk, the Mongalung, and the Narrangar.* These family names prevail over a great part of the continent; persons bearing one or another of the above designations are found on the western coast over a tract of country between four and five hundred miles in length. In South Australia Captain Gray met a man who said he belonged to one of them; and Flinders mentions Yungaree, a native of the Gulf of Carpentaria. Captain Gray informs us that the names are inherited on the female line, the children of either sex taking the family name of the mother, like the children of the Nairs of Malabar, and that this is the foundation of a law prevailing through all the known Australian tribes, according to which a man cannot marry a woman of his own family name.†

Each family among the Australians adopts some animal or plant as a kind of badge or armorial emblem, or, as they call it, their *kobong*. A certain mysterious connection exists between a family and its kobong, so that a member of the family will not kill an animal or pluck any plant of the species to which his kobong belongs, except under particular circumstances. This institution again, which in some respect resembles the Polynesian *tabú*, though founded on a different principle, has its counterpart in the customs of the native Americans. Captain Gray observes, citing Mr. Gallatin, that among the Hurons the first tribe is that of the bear; the two others, those of the wolf and turtle. The Iroquois have the same divisions, and the Turtle family is divided into the Great and Little Turtle. The Sioux are named on a similar prin-

* Besides these family names there are the following local names, or names belonging to some particular branch of the chief families, the principal of which known to Captain Gray are as follows:—Dittaróke, Gwerrinjoke, Maleoke, Waddaroke, Djekoke, Kotojumeno, Namyungo, Yungaree.

† Captain Gray has observed the very remarkable coincidence which exists between the Australians and many tribes of American Indians in regard to their complex and singular institutions. He refers to Mr. Gallatin's synopsis. To this subject I shall advert when I proceed to the history of the American nations.

ciple. According to Major Long, "one part of the superstition of these savages consists in each man having some 'totam' or favourite spirit, which he believes to watch over him. The *totam* assumes the shape of some beast, and therefore they never kill or eat the animal whose form they suppose their totam to bear."

We learn from the same writer that the Australians have laws relative to property in land. Landed property does not belong to a tribe or to several families, but to a single man, and the limits of each person's estate are well defined.

Captain Gray cites the authority of Dr. Lang in illustration of the above remark. "It is well known," says Dr. Lang, "that these aborigines in no instance cultivate the soil, but subsist entirely by hunting and fishing, and on wild roots with a little wild honey. The whole race is divided into tribes more or less numerous, who are designated from the localities which they inhabit; for although universally a wandering race, these wanderings are circumscribed by certain well-defined limits beyond which they seldom pass except for war or festivity. In short every tribe has its one district, and within that district all the wild animals are considered the property of the tribe wandering over its surface, as strictly as flocks of sheep or cattle are considered the property of their owners.

"But not only are particular districts the property of particular tribes: particular sections of these districts are universally recognised by the natives as the property of individual members of these tribes, and this includes all the animals that live upon the soil. The idea of property in the soil *for hunting purposes* is universal among the aborigines."*

"The social habits of the Australians are modified by the extent of polygamy among them. Hence the custom of stealing wives, and the jealous supervision which is exercised over his seraglio by the husband or proprietor."

Like other savage as well as many civilised nations, the Australians have a superstitious belief in magicians or sorcerers. They are termed Boyl-yas. Their supposed powers have great influence on their minds and actions. All natural

* Gray's Australia, vol. ii. p. 235.

illness is attributed to the Boyl-yas or to the Wangulls. The Boyl-yas are possessed of the power of Boyl-ya, or of playing the sorcerer. The Wangulls are imaginary aquatic monsters, residing in fresh water and endowed with supernatural power.

The natives of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and those near St. Vincent's Gulf, which are exactly opposite, practise circumcision, and this is the more remarkable as they are separated by about twelve hundred miles.

The following account of the funerals of the Australian tribe near King George's Sound has been given by a writer to whom we owe much valuable information.*

"Their funeral solemnities are accompanied by loud lamentations. A grave is dug about four feet long and three wide, and perhaps a yard in depth. The earth that is removed is arranged on one side of the grave in the form of a crescent; at the bottom is placed some bark, and then small green boughs, and upon this the body, ornamented and enveloped in its cloak, with the knees bent up to the breast, and the arms crossed. Over the body are heaped more green boughs and bark, and the hole is then filled with earth. Green boughs are placed over the earth, and upon them are deposited the spears, knife, and hammer of the deceased, together with the ornaments that belonged to him; his throwing-stick on one side, and the curl or towk on the other side of the mound. The mourners then carve circles in the bark of the trees that grow near the grave, at the height of six or seven feet from the ground; and lastly, making a small fire in front, they gather small boughs, and carefully brush away any portions of the earth that may adhere to them. The face is coloured black or white, laid on in blotches across the forehead, round the temples, and down the cheek-bones; and these marks of mourning are worn for a considerable time. They also cut the end of the nose, and scratch it, for the purpose of producing tears. During the period of the mourning they wear no ornaments or feathers. It frequently occurs that two individuals bear the same name, and in this case, should one of them die, the other changes his name for a

* Geogr. Journal, vol. i. p. 46.

certain period, in order that the name of the deceased should not be uttered.

" When a female is interred, her implements are, in like manner, deposited in her grave.

" From this trait it would be natural to suppose that they have a belief of a future state; and I think it cannot be doubted that they have. They have very readily adopted an idea which was held out to them, that after death they would go to the moon; but I do not think this was their prior opinion, for in reply to my enquiry, ' Where their fathers had gone?' they pointed westward.

" They believe in ghosts, and some will assert that they have seen them. I once showed a boy an anatomical drawing of a full figure, upon which he immediately exclaimed that it was a *gnoit;* and some of them who had obtained a glimpse of the drawing could not be persuaded to look upon it again. They are also very superstitious as regards omens: the noise of the night-cuckoo is supposed by them to portend death."

Section IV.—*Of the Language of the Australasians.*

It was for a long time supposed that a great variety of languages exist in Australasia; that every little tribe or horde into which the population of the country is divided has an idiom of its own totally different from the speech of its nearest neighbours. It was observed by Mr. Collins that after passing a river or a ridge of mountains a traveller often finds himself surrounded by a people who are perfectly unintelligible to the tribe which he has recently left, and by whom even the great objects of nature, such as the sun, moon, stars, and the physical elements, earth, water, fire, were designated by entirely new and previously unheard names. Later writers confirmed this statement. Captain Flinders compared the vocabulary of the people near King George's Sound with that used by the natives of Port Jackson, and both with words collected from the tribe near the southern extremity of Tasmania and from the people living

near Endeavour River. The conclusion which he drew was that all these languages were entirely distinct.

It appears that natives of one district are often incapable of conversing with the inhabitants of places at no great distance. Bongaree, a native of Port Jackson, could not understand a word of the language of the people of Harvey's Bay on the eastern coast, and in general it has been found that different Australian hordes are mutually unintelligible to each other.

But when vocabularies of these dialects were collected in numerous places and compared with each other, it was soon discovered that numerous coincidences existed between them in words expressive of the most universal ideas. In almost every other newly discovered country of great extent, it has been supposed at first that the native languages are more diffused and belong to a greater number of originally distinct families than a more accurate inquiry has proved to exist; and those who are conversant with philological inquiries soon perceived that this was likely to be the case with the Australian dialects. Captain Gray was, I believe, the first who perceived the resemblance of physiognomy, if that expression may be allowed, which prevails through all this family of languages as far as its affiliations are yet known. He was struck by a general resemblance in the sound and structure of words even in very distant parts of Australasia. He observed that the same identical words have in many instances been recognised with the same meaning attached to them round the entire continent. In the most distant parts of the coast the same proper names or very similar ones have been found attached to individuals, and these proper names are always significant words in the dialects of the people.* Correspondences in vocabularies would not have afforded by themselves sufficient proof of a family relation between the Australian languages. But the evidence afforded by it has been confirmed by grammatical researches. The first grammar of an Australian dialect ever composed was that of

* Captain Gray says that one-eighth of the words known as belonging to the Perth dialect have been found also in that of Adelaide.

the missionary Threlkeld, who had made himself acquainted with the idiom of the borderers on Lake Macquarrie and Hunter's River. Captain Gray, who appears to have been thoroughly master of the language spoken on the Swan River, has written a grammar of this dialect. Of the language spoken in South Australia near the settlement of Adelaide, we have a grammar composed by the missionaries Teichelmann and Schürmann, and a later one of the Parnkalla dialect spoken by the natives of the western shore of Spencer's Gulf by the same M. Schürmann. M. Meyer had previously published a grammar and a vocabulary of the dialect spoken in the southern and eastern portion of the settled districts of South Australia. These grammars afford sufficient evidence that the dialects to which they are appropriated belong to one family of languages.

The following comparative table of the personal pronouns in several Australian dialects will suffice for specimens of the kind and degree of variation between them. The first three columns are taken from Captain Gray's well-known work: they are given by him as specimens of the idioms of Western Australia, New South Wales or Eastern Australia, and South Australia. To these I have added lists from some of the grammars already mentioned.

Western Australia.	*New South Wales.*	*South Australia.*	*Parnkalla dialect.*	*Encounter Bay. (Meyer).*	*English.*
First person singular, I.					
1. Nganya	Ngatoa	Ngaü	Ngai	Ngāpe	I
2. Nginnee	Ngintoa	Ninna	Ninna	Nginte	Thou
3. Bal		Baa, Pa	Panna	Kitye	He
Dual.					
1. Ngalee	Ngalin	Ngadli	Ngadli	Ngēle	We two
2. Nurang	Nura	Niwa	Nuwalla	Ngurle	You two
3. Boola	Bulo-ara	Burla	Pudlanbe	Kengk	They two
Plural.					
1. Nadjoo		Ngaidjo Ngadlu. M.	Ngarrin-yelbo	Ngāne	We
2. Nimedoo		Nindo	Nuralli	Ngūne	You
3. Ngando	Nganto	Ngando	Yardna	Kar	They

There appears to be much less difference in the nouns and

verbs related to objects and actions of ordinary occurrence. The following examples will be sufficient.

English.	*Swan River.*	*K. George's Sound.*	*South Australia.*	*Sidney.*
Water	Kowin	Koin	Kowe	Ko-koin
Wood	Kalla	Kal	Karla	Kollal
Smoke	Booyoo	Poou	Puiyu	Poito
The hand	Mura	Murr	Murra	Mutturra
The eye	Mail	Mil	Mena	Muel
The tongue	Tdallung	Tdallung	Tadlunga	Tullun
The foot	Tjenna	Tjenna	Tidna	Tinna
To see or to know	Nayo *	Naykr	Nakkondi	Na-killiko

* In the other verb given in Mr. Gray's list the Swan River dialect has the short and apparently the simple forms of words, while the other dialects affect the endings above given, *kar*, *endi*, and *illiko* or *yelliko*, which appear to be formative of verbs.

We have as yet very little information respecting the languages spoken in the northern parts of Australia, but there is much reason to suppose the tribes in that quarter to be of the same race as those in the south, and their language cognate with the dialects of the southern people.

The last contribution to the history of the Australian language, and the first attempt that has been made to distinguish the different tribes of the Australian race by the relations of their dialects, is a recent memoir given in an extract from a dispatch of Captain Gray, when Governor of South Australia, to Lord Stanley, which has been printed in the fifteenth volume of the Journal of the Geographical Society. In this the writer has distinguished on a map the limits, as far as they are known, of five tribes or nations on the south coast of Australia who speak different dialects. The first dialect is that of the natives of King George's Sound, or of the south-western part of Australia. This dialect has a considerable extent, both up the sea-coast on the western side, where it has been recognised as far northward as Perth, and on the southern coast to the 136th degree E. L. The third dialect is that spoken by the natives of Adelaide and the country to the north. The second dialect,

according to Captain Gray, is that of a mixed people sprung from the intercourse of the two former tribes. The fourth is spoken by the natives of an inland country on the Murray and Darling Rivers. The fifth belongs to the people inhabiting the shores of Lake Alexandria. Captain Gray infers that the different tribes have extended themselves in the direction of the great rivers, mountain-chains, and sea-coasts, those tribes who have migrated along the sea-border having spread themselves most rapidly. He adds that the lines of migration afford presumptive evidence that the southern parts of Australia were peopled from the north.*

Paragraph 2.—Characters of the Australian Language.

The Australian languages differ widely in the form and composition of words from the Polynesian dialects. The latter are extremely simple in structure, while the Australian is remarkable for the variety and complexity of its grammatical forms. There are, however, some few points of striking coincidence between them. I shall in the first place point out these analogies.

1. There is a correspondence in the phonic elements or component parts of words; and this is the more remarkable, as the features which resemble in the two sets of languages are very peculiar. Thus we find a frequent occurrence of nasal consonants: an element of articulation represented by *ng* occurs frequently in both, and not only at the endings but at the beginnings of words.† The frequent use of nasal consonants is common to these two classes of languages, and to the Chinese and Indo-Chinese idioms, while in other similar groupes it is very rare.

2. Another phonic resemblance is the almost total want of sibilants, or hissing consonants. There is, I believe, no *s* in

* Captain G. Gray on the Languages of Australia, Journal of the Geographical Society, vol. xv. p. 366.

† This consonant appears, however, to be dropped by the Tahitian and Hawaiian, which affect a softer pronunciation than the cognate languages. It is most remarkable in the Maorian.

the known Australian alphabet. In the Malayo-Polynesian languages in general *s* is scarcely found, except in the Samoan and Fíjían, which deviate greatly from the standard character.

3. There is no verb substantive or auxiliary verb in either the Australian or Polynesian languages. In the Australian language words which are a sort of adverbial particles supply in a measure the place of a verb substantive.

4. Both languages have three numbers, singular, dual, and plural.

5. In both the words are indeclinable or destitute of proper inflexion. This feature is common to the Polynesian and Australian with the Tartarian and Indo-Chinese languages.

They stand contrasted in the following particulars.

1. The Australian words abound in numerous consonants, are long, polysyllabic, and artificial. It is said, however, that the roots are monosyllables. These roots are placed first in words and followed by the various additions, which produce modifications of meaning as numerous and comprehensive as those which are found in the American languages. Thus from the root *bu* or *bum* we have *bumaræ*, 'I strike;' *bumal-guaim*, 'I have struck;' *bumal-gurani*, 'I struck yesterday;' *bumal-girri*, 'I shall strike;' *bumalugidyillinga*, 'I strike myself;' *bumallanna*, 'we two strike each other;' *bumal-alinga*, 'I strike again;' *bumalmamblina*, 'I permit to strike again;' *bumabumara*, 'I continue striking;' *bumalagarria*, *bumala-limam bi lu garia waǧorri*, 'I shall persist to continue striking again to-morrow.' We are informed by M. Schürmann that the verbal roots of the Parnkalla dialect of the Australian are always disyllables. According to the general tendency of the Australian idioms, these roots are susceptible of a variety of terminations, some of which constitute voices of verbs or conjugations, others moods and tenses.

We have observed before the strong tendency of the Polynesian dialects to the disyllabic form. Roots are in general either monosyllables or disyllables in both.

The particles used instead of inflection, by which the modifications of meaning and the relations of words to each other are expressed, and which stand for signs of cases, and in verbs mark the diversities of tense and mood, are in the Polynesian

prefixed to the words of which they modify the sense. Prepositions are properly such, and they have a most extensive use: they stand before the words affected by them. It is not so in a large class of continental languages, as we have already observed, particularly in the languages of High Asia, the Turkish and other Tartar dialects. In the Australian as in the Tartar dialects these particles are suppositive or suffixes, or come after the words modified in sense.

It has been remarked by Mr. Norris, who first made the observation, which he has communicated to me, that the Australian dialects display some striking analogies with the Tamulian groupe of languages, or the idioms of the aboriginal people of the Dekhan. Nearly all the general but somewhat wide analogies which I have observed between the Australian and the Polynesian belong also to the other class of dialects, and there are others between the Tamulian and the Australian which are more striking, and are calculated to excite a strong anticipation that further resemblances will be discovered on a more extended comparison. It must be remembered that there is a great diversity of words in the Australian dialects compared with each other, and therefore we can hardly expect to find that they have preserved with so remote a language as the Tamulian a likeness which they have lost among themselves. The pronouns, however, which often preserve analogies in remotely allied idioms, are very similar in the Tamul and the Australian. I shall give the examples which Mr. Norris has pointed out.

Pronoun of the First Person—I, EGO.

Australian Dialects.

South Australian, *Ngaü;* Parnkalla, *Ngaî;* W. Australia, *Nga-nya;* N. S. Wales, *Ngatoa.*

Tamulian Dialects.

Karnataka, *Nunu;* Telugu, *Nenu;* Tamul, *Nan;* Malayalma, *Nyan.*

Accusative case.—N. S. Wales, *emmo;* Tamul, *emmeî.*

Pronoun of the Second Person—Thou.

Australian Dialects.—Ninna, ningte, nginne, ngintoa.

Tamulian Dialects.—Ni, nin, ninna.

Plural pronoun of the First Person—We.

Australian Dialects.—Ngalata, ngane, ngadlu.

Tamulian Dialects.—Nagnal, nanggal.

Pronoun of the Third Person—He.

Australian Dialects.—Bal, panna, pa.

Tamulian Dialects.—A variety of words, of which the root is *va*, as *avaru, avanu, vandlu, vavi,* (compare *avanu—pannu, bal—vandlu.)*

It is difficult to believe these resemblances to be merely accidental; and if they are not such, the alternative must lead us to a supposition not improbable in itself, but one that requires further investigation before we can venture to found on it an ethnological theory.

Some further analogies in grammatical construction have also been pointed out to me by Mr. Norris.

I have already adverted to the fact that the particles which in most languages are prepositions or prefixes, are in the Australian postfixes or suffixes, being added to the termination of words. This, as I have had formerly occasion to notice, is a feature of all the Tartar and Finnish languages, viz. Mongolian, Turkish, Mandschurian, Finnlandish, Lapponic, Magyar. It is also a character of the Tamulian dialects, and likewise of the Australian. The Polynesian, on the contrary, like many African languages, and like the European, has prefixes and prepositions.

There is in many languages, as I have before observed, a personal pronoun, of which Europeans are ignorant. It is a second *we*, there being two pronouns of the first person plural, one *we* including the person or persons addressed, and the other excluding them.* This double *we* is found in the Tartar languages, as the Mongolian. It exists in many American languages. It is common to the Tamulian dialects, the Australian, and the Polynesian.

Mr. Norris has observed that the Australian idioms have,

* Some traveller has reported that a missionary who meant to say to his Tahitian audience, "We are great sinners," (including of course his hearers,) by mistake used the exclusive *we*. This produced a different impression, and some one said, "*We* know that *you* are very wicked people." This will serve to exemplify the use of the two pronouns.

in common with several of the languages above mentioned, the property of forming new verbs by the addition of certain syllables, which give an inceptive, causative, or reflective sense; the new verb is then declined as a distinct word. He has taken an example from the Mandschu: *gai*, 'to take,' makes *gaija*, 'to take one's self;' *gaibu*, 'to cause to take;' *gaicha*, 'to take repeatedly;' *gainu*, 'to begin to take;' *gaigi*, 'to come to take.' In the Australian, viz. in the eastern dialect, *bun* means 'to strike;' *bunkil*, 'to strike one's self;' *bunkillit*, 'to strike often;' *bunnanbi*, 'to permit to strike;' *bunngalli*, 'to cause to strike.'

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE HISTORY AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE OCEANIC NATIONS.

SECTION I.—*Remarks on the History of the Black Races.*

THE history of the Oceanic nations is yet defective in one great and essential particular. I allude to the almost total want of information respecting the languages of the black races. We are far from having reached the same point in regard to these nations and their languages which the American philologers have attained in regard to the languages of the New World. We know not whether the aggregate of these idioms, like the American tongues, belong to one system or great family of languages, analogous to each other in the leading principles of their grammatical construction. The only considerable department of the Kelænonesian races of whose idioms some general grammatical knowledge has been gained are the Australian tribes in the southern part of New Holland. From the late researches of Mr. Threlkeld, Captain Gray, and other writers above cited, we have learned that the dialects of the Australian tribes (for it is probable that the northern tribes belong to the same family as the southern) form a system of languages in many respects peculiar. In what may be termed the merely organic peculiarities, viz. the absence and presence of certain elements of articulation and the mode of utterance, these languages are allied, as we have seen, to the Polynesian, but the analogy does not appear to extend further. Of the Papua languages not one has been made known in its structure and grammatical

relations,* for we cannot venture to term the Fíjíans Papuas. The Fíjían language, as we have seen, turns out to be Polynesian. The Papua vocabularies which have been collected contain Polynesian words, but these may be words which have been adopted by the ruder Papuas from their more civilised Polynesian neighbours. We have on the whole no proof of affinity between the Kelænonesian races beyond the uncertain probability of their having originated from the same extreme border of the Asiatic continent, and perhaps some resemblance in their manners and physical constitution.

We must for the present look upon the black races as the aborigines of Kelænonesia,—that is, as the immemorial and primitive inhabitants. There is no reason to doubt that they were spread over the austral islands long before the same or the contiguous regions were approached by the Malayo-Polynesians. We cannot say definitely how far back this will carry us, but as the distant colonisations of the Polynesians probably happened before the Island of Java received arts and civilisation from Hindustan, it must be supposed to have preceded by some ages the Javan era of Batara Guru, and therefore to have happened long before the Christian era.

Section II.—*On the Physical Characters of the Oceanic Races.*

On surveying collectively the whole body of the Oceanic nations, we discover among the widely dispersed tribes of which they consist almost every physical variety of the human species that exists on the face of the earth. We must except only the type which belongs to the Esquimaux and other Hyperborean races, to whose climate no part of Oceanica approximates in temperature and other physical conditions. There are among the Oceanic nations some tribes whose complexion and form of body, and features and mental qualities remind us of the most degraded of the African

* The Rev. T. Heath, a missionary who has resided in the Island of Tanna, has composed a grammar of that idiom, but he has not published it.

Negroes. The black races in Oceanica present more considerable variations from the Negro type than do, generally speaking, the African nations. For example, we find among the former every variety of hair, from close woolly tufts resembling those of the Hottentots, to the long flowing ringlets of the Asiatic; and both of these growths are found in Oceanica on heads narrow in form, laterally compressed, prognathous, with thick lips and flattened noses,—in short, with the chief characteristics of the Negro countenance. Every kind of variety may be noted both separately and in combination with others, making a complete series of gradual deviations from one extreme physical type to the opposite one, in which a certain darkness of colour and a general resemblance of form, which it is very difficult to define, are the only common traits.

As the black races are regarded as the aboriginal inhabitants of Oceanica, we must consider their physical characters as impressed by or in harmony with the existing physical influences and external conditions; and here a question will naturally arise, which at first sight it does not appear easy to solve. If the physical type of the Kelænonesian races is that which the climate of the countries inhabited by them is calculated in a long course of years to impress, how has it happened that the Polynesian race, existing for many, perhaps twenty centuries under similar physical agencies, have not assumed or manifestly approximated to the same physical character? This obviously suggests a second inquiry —Have the physical characters of the Polynesian tribes approximated to those of the Kelænonesians as far as it was probable that they would have approximated under similar physical conditions, allowance being made for the difference which exists between the two classes of nations in regard to their manners and habits of life? The Polynesians are a civilised people compared with the destitute Papuas and Australians. Now if we consider the description of the physical character of the lower castes among the Polynesian tribes of the Great Ocean, who are exposed to hardships and the severities of climate, and are in a great measure unprotected by artificial improvements, we find a very manifest approximation to the characteristics of

the Kelænonesians. We have seen that among all the principal branches of the Polynesian stock, as the Tongan, Maorian, Tahitian, and Hawaiian islanders, there exist several castes or classes in the community. It was long ago observed by Dr. I. Reinhold Forster, at a period when the history of these nations was but little known, that the lowest class among the Polynesian races approach in a very decided manner and bear a marked resemblance in physical characters to the islanders constituting the second class of nations, namely, the black or Papua races. The resemblance, as we have already had occasion to observe, is so great as to have induced many writers to resort to the hypothesis, which they have maintained without the least hesitation, that the Polynesian nations, the Maorians for example, are descended from a race of black aborigines, conquered by a Polynesian tribe, and blended with them into one stock. This supposition, though assumed, as it is avowed by M. d'Urville, without a shadow of external proof, appears at first sight by no means an improbable one; but it is perhaps fully refuted by facts which discover themselves on a further investigation. For these I must refer my readers to the history of particular tribes in the preceding chapters, where I have examined the reasons that tend to support this opinion, and in this place confine myself to the simple remark that the hypothesis of M. d'Urville has been abandoned by all those persons who, through long residence in the Polynesian islands, and by a thorough acquaintance with the language and habits of the inhabitants, have become well qualified to form an opinion on the subject. This was not the case with M. d'Urville, M. Lesson, or any of the naturalists who have taken the same ground. These writers have made but very short visits to particular islands, and some of them appear from their own accounts or from the testimony of persons fully able to judge, to have had little familiar acquaintance with the Polynesian language. Mr. Ellis and other missionaries, on the contrary, and the English voyagers, many of whom have made long residences in the islands and have become intimately acquainted with the language of the natives, have maintained very decidedly a different opinion.

If the opinion of these writers is allowed to be well-founded, and the Malayo-Polynesian nations are regarded as really the offspring of one family, we shall find in the ramifications of that stock examples of almost every variety of the human species. A very brief retrospect of the ground we have gone over will suffice to demonstrate this assertion.

We may be allowed to regard the Malays in Menangkabao or some tribe nearly related to them, or perhaps the Tagalas of the Philippine Islands, who have a near physical resemblance to each other, as the prototypes of the Malayo-Polynesian family. It will appear, then, that the germ of the whole stock was a tribe differing little in its physical character from the Indo-Chinese type. The pure Malays have, as we have seen, the figure of body, the peculiar countenance, the broad flat face widened out at the zygomata, the light and slender frame, and the sallow or yellowish complexion of the Indo-Chinese nations. But if this was the original type of the whole Polynesian family, how widely different have they become in some islands of the Pacific. Some of these tribes, as we have seen, are people of great stature; they are tall, stout, and corpulent but able-bodied men. Their stoutness and obesity is referred by most voyagers to a very abundant supply of nutrition and to other local circumstances favouring physical developement. The shape of the head and features, as it has been repeatedly observed, actually resembles the European and Southern Asiatic. Testimonies to this effect may be seen in the preceding sections. Among the Tahitians, Nukahivans, Tongans, and others, the direction of the eyes is said to be quite straight, the eyes large, open, and not deeply set, the nose aquiline, and the whole countenance European.

The insular tribes of the Pacific are remarkable for the great variety both of features and complexion which displays itself within the limits of a single island or a single community. In many of these tribes the prevalent complexion, or the colour of the people who form the great mass of the community, is very much darker than that of the genuine Malays, while the superior caste are much nearer to the northern nations of Europe. The Malays appear to be a

middle term between these, and it is difficult to say which party recedes most from the original type. The lower castes are dark. Among the Tahitians and Maorians the lower class of people are almost black, or at least very dark, their hair very crisp and somewhat woolly, and their features of a corresponding ugliness. People of this caste, as all the writers assure us, are continually exposed to the agency of the climate, and they have approximated towards the character of the savage races. The chieftains and the people of a higher grade in the same islands lead an indolent and luxurious life. They have attained the average stature of Europeans, and in some instances exceed it. They have a fair complexion and all the characters of a highly developed sanguine or xanthous constitution.

It seems to have been the ultimate and full persuasion of all those persons who have made a long abode in the islands of the Pacific under circumstances favourable to accurate investigation, that these phenomena can only be explained on the supposition that they result from the agency of climate and physical influences on the original race. The appearance of a xanthous complexion under moderate temperature and among people living in a state of protection from severities of climate is so common an observation, and one that we have already traced in so many instances in almost every other part of the world, that we may well look for it in the Polynesian islands; and there, when we find this change connected and co-extensive with another physical change, we may fairly infer that these connected phenomena have one and the same cause. I allude to changes in the stature, the form of the head, the quality of the hair, &c. There seems to be no other hypothesis, if we open the widest field to conjecture, that can in any way explain all the phenomena of physical variety that display themselves in the Oceanic region, and this sufficiently accounts for all of them,—namely, the deviation of the primitive Malayan or Indo-Chinese type on the one side to the character of the European, and on the other to a conformation of body very similar to that of the African.

BOOK VI.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE OF AMERICA.

SECTION I.—*Introductory Remarks.*

THOUGH the aboriginal inhabitants of America are not so different from the nations of Europe and Asia in complexion, figure, or other physical characters, as are the Negroes and Hottentots, yet those writers who contend for a plurality of human races are not less confident in assigning to the American tribes a distinct origin than they are in maintaining the same position respecting the woolly-haired natives of Africa. The arguments which they bring forward in support of this opinion in regard to the American race are summed up under three heads. Taken all together they have an imposing effect. I shall examine them separately and endeavour to assign to them their due weight, and, as far as I may be able to do it, to deduce from the consideration of the subject a rational and satisfactory conclusion.

The first argument turns on physical peculiarities. Although the American nations are not nearly so different, physically, from the European and Asiatic races as the Africans are, yet the universality or constancy of the physical peculiarities which they display has been thought by some to make up for the lesser extent of deviation, and to prove the Americans to be a distinct species of men. A second argument in favour of the same conclusion turns on certain psychological differences asserted to exist between the American and other human races. A third argument is founded on a consideration of the ancient history of the American nations, and of facts which have been thought by

some to prove them to have been entirely separate from the rest of mankind from a very early period, and before the developement of such arts and sciences as the American nations possessed.

Paragraph 1.—Of the mutual Resemblance observed between the American Races.

Europeans who travelled among the American nations at an early period after the discovery of the New World seem to have been very strongly impressed by a certain uniformity of aspect which they observed or imagined between the native tribes. Herrera inferred from their general resemblance a common origin. He says:—" Es cosa notable que todas las gentes de las Indias, del norte y del mediodia, son de una misma inclinacion y calidad, porque segun la mejor opinion procedièron de una misma parte; y asimismo los de las islas, à las quales passarón de la tierra firma de Florida." Don Antonio Ulloa is often quoted as saying, " Visto un Indio de qualquiera region, se puede decir que se han visto todos"—" A person who has seen an Indian of whatever region may say that he has seen them all." The impression which these writers received appears to have been precisely that which travellers from civilised countries have ever experienced when they have first visited barbarous nations whose uniform habits of life give rise to a similarity of demeanour and expression. The Romans made the same remark respecting our German ancestors.

There is, however, a considerable resemblance in the most striking physical characters of many nations in America. The tribes in the northern part of the continent are very similar in complexion and in some other traits to those of the south. Among those writers who have made this observation, the most distinguished is the Baron Alexander von Humboldt. He says:—" The Indians of New Spain bear a general resemblance to those who inhabit Canada, Florida, Peru, and Brazil. They have the same swarthy and copper colour, straight and smooth hair, small beard, squat body,

long eyes, with the corners directed upwards towards the temples, prominent cheek-bones, thick lips, expression of gentleness in the mouth strongly contrasted with a gloomy and severe look." "Over a million and a half of square leagues, from Tierra del Fuego to the river St. Lawrence and Behring's Straits, we are struck at the first glance with the general resemblance in the features of the inhabitants. We think that we perceive them all to be descended from the same stock, notwithstanding the prodigious diversity of languages which separates them one from another." "In the faithful portrait which an excellent observer, M. Volney, has drawn of the Canada Indians, we undoubtedly recognise the tribes scattered in the savannahs of the Rio Apure and the Carony. The same style of features exists in both Americas."*

These observations must not lead us to suppose that there are not among the numerous races of America considerable diversities of physical character. This fact is asserted by writers on whose testimony we may place reliance.

Molina, the celebrated author of the history of Chili, says the American nations are as different from each other as are the several nations of Europe. "Rido fra me stesso," he says, "quando leggo in certi scrittori moderni, riputati diligenti osservatori, che tutti gli Americani hanno un medesimo aspetto, e che quando se ne abbia veduto uno, si possa dire di avergli vedutti tutti. Cotesti autori si lasciarono troppo sedurre da certe vaghe apparenze di somiglianza, procedenti per lo più dal colorito, le quali svaniscono tosto che si confrontano gl' individui di una nazione con quelli dell' altra. Un Chilese non si differenzia meno nell' aspetto da un Peruviano, che un Italiano da un Tedesco. Io ho veduto pur dei Paraguai, dei Cujani, e dei Magellanici, i quali tutti hanno dei lineamenti peculiari, che li distinguono notabilmente gli uni dagli altri."†

I must now cite two more recent writers who are singularly at variance with each other on the question of the

* Political Essay on New Spain, book ii. chap. vi.

† Molina sulla Storia Naturale del Chili, p. 336.

uniformity or diversity of type among the native American tribes.

Dr. Morton, whose splendid publication on American skulls has obtained for him a high rank among those who have devoted themselves to the study of ethnology, is a very strenuous asserter of the uniformity of physical characters among the native races of the Continent. In a late treatise he has thus expressed himself. We must observe that he excepts from his remark, *in limine*, the Esquimaux, who are nevertheless as genuine an American race as any tribe of the Continent.

"It is an adage among travellers that he who has seen one tribe of Indians has seen all, so much do the individuals of this race resemble each other, notwithstanding their immense geographical distribution and those differences of climate which embrace the extremes of heat and cold. The half-clad Fuegian, shrinking from his dreary winter, has the same characteristic lineaments, though in an exaggerated degree, as the Indians of the tropical plains; and these again resemble the tribes which inhabit the region west of the Rocky Mountains, those of the great valley of the Mississippi, and those again which skirt the Eskimaux on the north. All possess alike the long, lank, black hair, the brown or cinnamon-coloured skin, the heavy brow, the dull and sleepy eye, the full and compressed lips, and the salient but dilated nose. These traits, moreover, are equally common to the savage and civilised nations, whether they inhabit the margins of rivers and feed on fish, or rove the forest and subsist on the spoils of the chase.

"It cannot be questioned that physical diversities do occur equally singular and inexplicable, as seen in different shades of colour, varying from a fair tint to a complexion almost black; and this too under circumstances in which climate can have little or no influence. So also in reference to stature, the differences are remarkable in entire tribes, which, moreover, are geographically proximate to each other. These facts, however, are mere exceptions to a general rule, and do not alter the peculiar physiognomy of the Indian, which is as undeviatingly characteristic as that of the Negro; for

whether we see him in the athletic Charib or the stunted Chayma, in the dark Californian or the fair Borroa, he is an Indian still, and cannot be mistaken for a being of any other race.

"The same conformity of organisation is not less obvious in the osteological structure of these people, as seen in the squared or rounded head, the flattened or vertical occiput, the high cheek-bones, the ponderous maxillæ, the large quadrangular orbits, and the low receding forehead. I have had opportunity to compare nearly four hundred crania derived from tribes inhabiting almost every region of both Americas, and have been astonished to find how the preceding characters, in greater or less degree, pervade them all."*

Notwithstanding this strongly expressed opinion, Dr. Morton has in his great work remarked considerable diversities of form in the crania of American races, and he has made the first attempt to classify these nations by their varieties. He says:—"After examining a great number of skulls, I find that the nations east of the Alleghany Mountains, together with the cognate tribes, have a head more elongated than any other Americans. This remark applies especially to the great Lenapé stock, the Iroquois, and the Cherokees. To the west of the Mississippi we again meet with the elongated head in the Mandans, Ricaras, Assiniboins, and some other tribes. Yet even in these instances the characteristic truncation of the occiput is more or less obvious, while many nations east of the Rocky Mountains have the rounded head so characteristic of the race, as the Osages, Ottoes, Missouris, Dacotas, and numerous others. The same conformation is common in Florida; but some of these nations are evidently of the Tolteca family, as both their characters and traditions testify. The heads of the Charibs, as well of the Antilles as of Terra Firma, are also naturally rounded; and we trace this character, as far as we have had opportunity for examination, through the nations east of the Andes, the Patago-

* An Inquiry into the distinctive Characteristics of the Aboriginal Race of America.

mians, and the tribes of Chili. In fact, the flatness of the occipital portion of the cranium will probably be found to characterise a greater or less number of individuals in every existing tribe from Tierra del Fuego to the Canadas. If the skulls be viewed from behind, we observe the occipital outline to be moderately curved outwards, wide at the occipital protuberance, and full from these points to the opening of the ear. From the parietal protuberances to the vertex there is a slightly curved slope, producing a conical or rather a wedge-shaped outline.

"Humboldt has remarked that there is no race on the globe in which the frontal bone is so much pressed backwards, and in which the forehead is so small. It must be observed, however, that the lowness of the forehead is in some measure compensated by its breadth, which is generally considerable. The flat forehead was esteemed beautiful among a great number of tribes; and this fancy has been the principal incentive to the moulding of the head by art.

"Although the orbital cavities are large, the eyes themselves are smaller than in Europeans; and Frézier asserts that the Puelche women whom he saw in Chili were absolutely hideous from the smallness of their eyes. The latter are also deeply set or sunk in the head, an appearance which is much increased by the low and prominent frontal ridges.

"Among the North American Indians there is scarcely any decided obliquity in the position of the eyes, which is so universal among the Malays and Mongoles; but Spix and Martius have observed it in some Brazilian tribes, and Humboldt in those of the Orinoko; and among the Pouris the Prince de Wied describes a man who bore in this and other respects a marked resemblance to a Kalmuk.

"What has been said of the bony orbits obtains with surprising uniformity: thus the superior margin is but slightly curved, while the inferior may be compared to an inverted arch. The lateral margins form curves rather mediate between the other two. This fact is the more interesting on account of the contrast it presents to the oblong orbit and parallel margins observable in the Malay. The latter con-

formation, however, is sometimes seen in the American, but chiefly in those skulls which have been altered by pressure on the frontal bone.

"The nose constitutes one of the strongest and most uniform features of the Indian countenance: it mostly presents the decidedly arched form, without being aquiline, and still more rarely flat.

"The nasal cavities correspond to the size of the nose itself; and the remarkable acuteness of smell possessed by the American Indian has been attributed to the great expansion of the olfactory membrane. But the perfection of this sense, like that of hearing among the same people, is perhaps chiefly to be attributed to its constant and assiduous cultivation. The cheek-bones are large and prominent, and incline rapidly towards the lower jaw, giving the face an angular conformation. The upper jaw is often elongated and much inclined outwards, but the teeth are for the most part vertical. The lower jaw is broad and ponderous, and connected in front. The teeth are also very large and seldom decay; few present marks of disease, though the teeth are often worn by the mastication of hard substances."

M. d'Orbigny, a distinguished naturalist accustomed to observe and discriminate anatomical characters, who has travelled in South America for the purpose of making discoveries and collections in natural history, and who has written a valuable and interesting work on the nations of that continent, represents the American tribes as differing from each other to a much greater extent. I shall cite his observations.

"We know what variety of features is to be seen among the inhabitants of our cities, and how easy it is to find in them the different types of physiognomy of the most remote countries. We shall not inquire whether this diversity of forms and of countenances depends on the mixture of races, or how much we ought to attribute to the influence of civilisation,—questions which are foreign to our present subject. We only allude to the fact in order to introduce the remark that, if among individual American nations the limits of variety had been so wide, we should never have been able to describe precisely the character of the several groupes of

human families who constitute the population of the New World. Fortunately the fact is otherwise. As a general position we may regard each particular nation as having between its members a family resemblance, which, distinguishing it clearly from its neighbours, permits the practised eye of the zoologist to recognise in the great assemblage of nations all the existing types, almost without ever confounding them. *A Peruvian is more different from a Patagonian, and a Patagonian from a Guarani, than is a Greek from an Ethiopian or a Mongolian.*" *

Paragraph 2.—Of the Psychological Differences said to exist between the American Races and those of the Old Continent.

For many years after the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, nobody thought of representing the native people of the New World as inferior with respect to intellectual faculties to the rest of mankind, or as differing from them essentially in mental character. At an early period we find the names of persons of the Aztec race and some descendants from the royal house of Montezuma among the viceroys of Mexico. Several dignified ecclesiastics bore names derived from noble families of Tenochtitlan and Tescuco. What is still more conclusive, some of the earliest and most learned of the historians who wrote elaborate works on the Mexican and Peruvian antiquities, as Fernando de Alva Ixtilxochitl, and Garcilaso de la Vega, were descendants of the regal families of Mexico and Peru.

Of late years a learned German traveller, whose works on the nations of South America are well known and highly estimated, has in very strong terms asserted that a psychological difference exists between the American race and that of the Old World. It is impossible to convey the force of his remarks in any other words than his own.

* M. d'Orbigny, L'Homme Américain de l'Amérique Méridionale considéré dans ses rapports physiologiques et moraux. Paris, 1839, vol. i. p. 122.

" The indigenous race of the New World," says Dr. von Martius, " is distinguished from all the other nations of the earth, externally, by peculiarities of make, but still more, internally, by their state of mind and intellect. The aboriginal American is at once in the incapacity of infancy and unpliancy of old age; he unites the opposite poles of intellectual life. This strange and inexplicable condition has hitherto frustrated almost every attempt to reconcile him completely with the European, to whom he gives way, so as to make him a cheerful and happy member of the community; and it is this his double nature which presents the greatest difficulty to science when she endeavours to investigate his origin, and those earlier epochs of history in which he has for thousands of years moved, indeed, but made no improvement in his condition. But this is far removed from that natural state of child-like security which marked (as an inward voice declares to us, and as the most ancient written documents affirm) the first and foremost period of the history of mankind. The men of the red race, on the contrary, it must be confessed, do not appear to feel the blessing of a divine descent, but to have been led, by merely animal instinct and tardy steps, through a dark past to their actual cheerless present. Much, therefore, seems to indicate that the native Americans are not in the first stage of that simple, we might say, physical *(natur-historischen)* developement—that they are in a secondary regenerated state.

" Besides the traces of a primeval and, in like manner, ante-historic culture of the human race in America, as well as a very early influence on the productions of nature, we may also adduce as a ground for these views the basis of the present state of natural and civil rights among the aboriginal Americans,—I mean precisely, as before observed, that enigmatical subdivision of the natives into an almost countless multitude of greater and smaller groupes, and that almost entire exclusion and excommunication with regard to each other, in which mankind presents its different families to us in America like fragments of a vast ruin. The history of the other nations inhabiting the earth furnishes nothing which has any analogy to this.

" Long-continued migrations of single nations and tribes have doubtless taken place from a very early period throughout the whole continent of America, and they may have been especially the causes of dismemberment and corruption in the languages, and of a corresponding demoralisation of the people. By assuming that only a few leading nations were at first, as was the case with the Jupí people, dispersed like so many rays of light, mingled together and dissolved, as it were, into each other by mutual collision, and that these migrations, divisions, and subsequent combinations have been continued for countless ages, the present state of mankind in America may assuredly be accounted for; but the cause of this singular mis-developement remains, no less on that account, unknown and enigmatical.

" Can it be conjectured that some extensive convulsion of nature—some earthquake rending asunder sea and land, such as is reported to have swallowed up the far-famed Island of Atlantis—has there swept away the inhabitants in its vortex? Has such a calamity filled the survivors with a terror so monstrous, as, handed down from race to race, must have darkened and perplexed their intellects, hardened their hearts, and driven them, as if flying at random, from each other, far from the blessings of social life? Have, perchance, burning and destructive suns, or overwhelming floods, threatened the man of the red race with a horrible death by famine, and armed him with a rude and unholy hostility, so that, maddened against himself by atrocious and bloody acts of cannibalism, he has fallen from the godlike dignity for which he was designed to his present degraded state of darkness? Or is this inhumanising *(Ent-menschung)* the consequence of deeply rooted preternatural vices, inflicted by the Genius of our race (with a severity which, to the eye of a short-sighted observer, appears throughout all nature like cruelty) on the innocent as well as on the guilty ?"

These observations of Dr. Martius suggest two inquiries; first, whether the American nations are really inferior in intellect to the nations of Europe; and secondly, whether there is any difference in their moral nature, their affections, and consciousness, to use Dr. von Martius's expression.

On the first question the history of Mexican arts and science will throw some light. In the following chapter I shall consider the ethnography of this people, and shall therefore say but little on the subject at present. A nation who, unaided by foreigners, formed a more complete calendar than the Greeks, and had ascertained with precision the length of the solar year, could not be deficient in intelligence.

In regard to the difference of internal feelings and moral sense which, according to the representations of Dr. Martius, would seem to cut off the native Americans from all participation with the rest of mankind in the otherwise universal impressions of conscience and sentiment and in the ordinary sympathies of our species, the question may be decided by an appeal to facts. It is only necessary to prove that the American race is susceptible of the moral culture of Christianity, and capable of being converted from savage into civilised men, to overturn the hypothesis of Dr. von Martius. Now it is well known that whole tribes in different parts of the continent have become civilised, and have embraced and long professed the Christian religion. Some of my readers will perhaps object to this last assertion that the adoption of Roman Catholic rites and ceremonies is no proof of a real conversion to Christianity; but these persons will be persuaded by the following account which Loskiel, a Moravian missionary, has given of his mission and congregation.

"This mission," he says, "has now stood forty-five years. From a register of the congregation dated 1772, we learn that, from the beginning of the mission to that year, 720 Indians had been added to the Church of Christ by holy baptism, most of whom had departed this life rejoicing in God their Saviour. I would willingly add the number of those converted to the Lord since that period; but as the church books and other writings of the missionaries were burnt when they were taken prisoners in the Muskingum in 1781, I cannot speak with certainty. Supposing even that from 1772 to 1787 the number of new converts was the same, yet, considering the long standing of the mission, and the great pains and sufferings of the missionaries, the flock collected was very small. The reason of this may be found

partly in the peculiar character of the Indian nations, but chiefly in this, that the missionaries did not so much endeavour to gather a large number of baptised heathen, as to lead souls to Christ who should truly believe on and live unto Him."

We shall have opportunities of pursuing this investigation in the following pages.

Paragraph 3.

A third series of observations tends to exalt the antiquity of the American race, and to prove that whatever arts and knowledge existed among them, their earliest institutions of society, as well as the original construction and developement of their language, were peculiar to them and indigenous in their country. This train of argument does not necessarily lead to the admission of an original distinctness of race. If fully established, it still leaves us at liberty to suppose that the first inhabitants of the New World were not the offspring of an American soil, but that they were people who wandered from the Old Continent in the earliest ages after the creation of mankind, bringing with them in the frail canoes in which they may have passed the northern Pacific, or in their toilsome migration over polar seas, none of the improvements of art, nor even the first acquirements of pastoral or agricultural life. All such advancement began with them after their arrival on the shores of the New Continent; and therefore, whatever intellectual culture was discovered by Europeans among the American nations was indigenous, whatever may be thought as to the origin of the people themselves. Many facts were pointed out by Humboldt which tend to support this view. He does not appear, however, to have maintained it without exceptions, as he seems to have been disposed to adopt the opinion that the Mexican astronomy was of Asiatic origin. The same opinion has been powerfully maintained by Dr. von Martius. This writer observes that the American nations have had from immemorial ages their peculiar stock of domestic animals and cultivated plants. In

the Old World, he says, we know not whence our breeds of horses, of hogs and cattle, and the cerealian gramina were first obtained, and the American nations are equally at a loss when we inquire for the original stock of the dumb dog, the llama, the root of the mandioca, maize, and the quinoa. In the ancient world these were the gifts of the mystical benefactors of mankind: Ceres, Triptolemus, Bacchus, Pallas, and Poseidon were venerated as the givers of corn and wine, the sacred olive, and the horse. In America, likewise, tradition refers the art of tillage and the use of domesticated plants and animals to fabulous persons, who made their appearance as if rising from the waters of a lake, or descending from the gods, such as the Manco-Capac of the Peruvians, the Xolotl or the Xiuhtlato of the Toltecas. These analogous representations seem to carry back the origin of arts on both continents to corresponding periods of antiquity.

I shall not attempt to follow Dr. von Martius through the series of his arguments. The different subjects to which it extends have been made the theme of a later and of a most careful investigation by Mr. Gallatin.

Mr. Gallatin observes that all the so-termed cerealia, millet, rice, wheat, rye, barley, oats, were confined to the Old Continent, and maize, the staple of American agriculture, to the New. If these two facts are admitted, it necessarily follows that the introduction of agriculture, the first and most difficult step towards civilisation, originated in America; that is, that it was not communicated to the Americans from the Old World. It seems indubitable that the agriculture of the New World was long confined to the people within the tropics in a country where despotism and vassalage afforded the means of compelling labour. From Mexico, according to Mr. Gallatin, it spread to the West India Islands, and thence to the nations on the Atlantic border, and partially to countries westward of the Mississippi, where the remains of immense works of labour imply the actual existence of a dense population, incapable of subsisting in a country of mere hunters.

The question as to the foreign or indigenous origin of the astronomical science of the Mexicans has been discussed with

various and deep learning by writers of both hemispheres. Boturini, Siguenza, Clavigero, and greater than all these the celebrated Mexican astronomer De Gama, Vater, and Von Humboldt, have brought together the facts which are most important for the solution of this problem. Lastly, the whole evidence that bears upon the subject has been lately summed up and the results clearly set forth by Mr. Gallatin. As the subject of Mexican antiquities will come before me in a succeeding chapter, I shall not say more upon it at present than merely to remark that, though there are arguments which weigh on both sides of the question, the most probable result appears to be that all the science of the Mexicans originated among the people of the New World.

SECTION II.—*General Remarks on the American Languages.*

We owe the earliest information respecting the languages of America to the missionaries sent from time to time by the kings of Spain at the instigation of the Pope, with the view of converting the native inhabitants to the Christian religion. Many of these persons devoted immense labour to the acquisition of the idioms of various tribes with the intention of qualifying themselves for the effectual performance of their duties. They represent the number of distinct languages spoken in the New World as very great. Abbé Gilii, who wrote a history of the Orinoco and collected specimens of the languages spoken in different districts with which he was acquainted, says that if a catalogue were formed of all the idioms of the continent, they would be found to be "non molte moltissime," but infinite, "innumerabili." Abbé Clavigero declares that he had cognisance of thirty-five different idioms spoken by races within the jurisdiction of Mexico. Father Kircher, a celebrated philologer of his time, after consulting the Jesuits assembled in Rome on the occasion of a general congregation of the order in 1676, informs us that those missionaries who had been in the New World supposed the number of languages of which they had some notices in South America to be five hundred. But the Abbé

Royo, who had made diligent inquiries about the language of Peru, where he had dwelt, asserts that the whole people of America spoke not less than two thousand languages. The learned Francisco Lopez, a native of South America, who had extensive knowledge of that country as well as of the northern continent, a great part of which was traversed by the Jesuits, thought it no rash assertion to say that the idioms, "notabilmente diversi," of the whole country were not less than fifteen hundred.*

A great number of catechetical and other religious books, as well as vocabularies and some grammars, had long existed in many of these languages, but no very remarkable attempt was made to classify them or to set forth their relations till the philological work of Abbé Hervas appeared. This was published at Cesena in 1784, under the title of "Catalogo delle Lingue," forming the seventeenth volume of the singular work of the same author, entitled "Idea del Universo."† The first division of this work is devoted to the American languages. It contains much information, at the time entirely new, collected chiefly from manuscript books or obtained from a great number of missionaries, chiefly with reference to the comparison and classification of languages in the New World.

A more scientific analysis of the American languages was commenced and carried on with immense labour by Professor Vater, to whom Adelung had left the work of completing the Mithridates or "Allgemeine Sprachenkunde," and who was the author of a separate treatise on the population of America. To this writer, if I am not mistaken, is due the credit of having discovered the most remarkable phenomena which this system of languages presents, and which every succeeding investigation has continued to confirm and amplify. I allude partly to the resemblance in grammatical structure which the most widely separated of the American languages display. The following are Vater's observations.

* Hervas, Catalogo delle Lingue, p. 11.

† "Idea del Universo, che contiene la storia della vita del uomo, elementi cosmografici, viaggio estatico, al mondo planetario. E storia della terra e delle lingue. Opera del Signor Abbate Don Lorenzo Hervas."

" In Greenland as well as in Peru, on the Hudson river, in Massachusets as well as in Mexico, and as far as the banks of the Orinoco, languages are spoken, displaying forms more artfully distinguished and more numerous than almost any other idioms in the world possess." " When we consider these artfully and laboriously contrived languages, which, though existing at points separated from each other by so many hundreds of miles, have assumed a character not less remarkably similar among themselves than different from the principles of all other languages, it is certainly the most natural conclusion that these common methods of construction have their origin from a single point; that there has been one general source from which the culture of languages in America has been diffused, and which has been the common centre of its diversified idioms."

The same phenomena have been adverted to by the Baron Von Humboldt, and as his authority carries justly much weight in all that relates to the nations of America, I shall cite his own expressions on this subject.

" In America," he says, " (and this result of more modern researches is extremely important with respect to the history of our species,) from the country of the Esquimaux to the banks of the Oronoko, and again, from these torrid banks to the frozen climate of the Straits of Magellan, mother-tongues, entirely different with regard to their roots, have, if we may use the expression, the same physiognomy. Striking analogies of grammatical construction are acknowledged, not only in the more perfect languages, as that of the Incas, the Aymara, the Guarini, the Mexican, and the Cora, but also in languages extremely rude. Idioms, the roots of which do not resemble each other more than the roots of the Sclavonian and Biscayan, have those resemblances of internal mechanism which are found in the Sanscrit, the Persian, the Greek, and the German languages. Almost every where in the New World we recognise a multiplicity of forms and tenses in the verb, an industrious artifice to indicate beforehand, either by inflection of the personal pronouns which form the terminations of the verb, or by an intercalated suffix, the nature and the relation of its object and its

subject, and to distinguish whether the object be animate or inanimate, of the masculine or the feminine gender, simple or in complex number. It is on account of this general analogy of structure; it is because American languages, which have no word in common, the Mexican for instance, and the Quichua, resemble each other by their organisation, and form complete contrasts with the languages of Latin Europe, that the Indians of the missions familiarise themselves more easily with other American idioms than with the language of the mistress country."* The Jesuits, in consequence of this circumstance, had adopted the practice of communicating with a great number of different tribes through the medium of some particular native language. Hordes, whose proper idioms were entirely peculiar, were easily brought to speak in common one of the native languages, as the Guarani or the Tamanac, when it was found impossible to teach them Spanish.

The observations on the structure of the American languages suggested by Professor Vater and the Baron Von Humboldt have been more fully developed and confirmed, and in a surprising manner extended, by Mr. du Ponceau. This intelligent philologer has proved from ample resources in his possession, that " the American languages in general are rich in words and in grammatical forms, and that in their complicated construction the greatest order and regularity prevail;" and he has rendered it extremely probable that these complicated forms of language, to which he has given the appropriate term of *polysynthetic*, exist in all the American idioms from Greenland to Cape Horn, " although in these languages the principles of construction differ essentially from those which exist in the idioms of the old hemisphere."† As many of the languages of America are

* Baron Von Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. iii. p. 248 of the translation.

† Transactions of the Literary and Historical Department of the American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia: vol. i. Preliminary Dissertation by Mr. du Ponceau.—The clear and comprehensive survey which this dissertation sets forth entitles the author to a place in the highest rank of philological critics.

yet little known, it is evident that this conclusion can only be thus far extended by inference. Similar principles, however, are known to prevail in many of the most remarkable dialects in very distant parts of America: in North America, in the idiom of the Karalit or Esquimaux, in the dialects of the Delawares or Lenni Lenape, and of the Iroquois: in the middle region of America, in the Poconchi, the Mexican, Tarascan, Mixtecan; and in South America in the Caribbean and Araucan.* In a great number of languages, of which no grammars or dictionaries yet exist, there are still specimens which afford a tolerable opportunity of estimating their general character and analogies, and as far as these data extend it would appear that similar laws of construction are universal among the idioms of the New World. "Many of these languages, as that of the Lenni Lenape in particular, would rather appear from their construction to have been formed by philosophers in their closets than by savages in the wilderness." This is an assertion which, though true, appears improbable, and the author of the remark offers the best defence that can be given. "If it should be asked," he says, "how this can have happened, I can only answer

* These dialects have moods or conjugations, by which the sense of verbs is modified, as in the Hebrew, but much more extensively: there are *reflected*, *transitive*, *compulsive*, *applicative*, *meditative*, *communicative*, *reverential*, and *frequentative*, as well as many other complex forms.

In this susceptibility of inflections in the verb, so that its various forms express not only the principal action, but the greatest possible number of moral ideas and physical objects connected with it, it appears that the peculiarity of the American Indian languages in a great measure consists. See Mr. du Ponceau, *ubi supra*, p. 31. We may form some idea of the polysynthetic system, as it is termed by this writer, by supposing the conjugations of Hebrew verbs, which modify the sense, as well as the use of suffixes and affixes, multiplied to a great extent.

The feminine inflections of verbs, of which the rudiments exist in the Hebrew, are in some of the Indian languages extended to a great length; it is indeed said that among some American nations an almost entirely peculiar set of words is used in the conversation of women.

We are promised some further elucidation of the method of forming aggregate words in the American idioms by Mr. Howes, author of a grammar of the Cree language.

that I have been ordered to collect and ascertain facts, and not to build theories."

I shall cite one additional authority with reference to this subject; it is the testimony of a writer who is justly celebrated for the accuracy and depth of his researches into American history. "Amidst that great diversity of American languages," says Mr. Gallatin, "considered only in reference to their vocabularies, the similarity of their structure and grammatical forms has been observed and pointed out by the American philologists. The result appears to confirm the opinions already entertained on that subject by Mr. du Ponceau, Mr. Pickering, and others, and to prove that all the languages, not only of our own Indians, but of the native inhabitants of America from the Arctic Ocean to Cape Horn, have, as far as they have been investigated, a distinct character common to all, and apparently differing from any of those of the other Continent with which we are most familiar."*

It appears that all those persons who have devoted themselves to this investigation are agreed as to the connecting characters observed between the American languages in the principles of their formation and grammatical structure. But the strong statement of difference in vocabulary must be understood with some modification. There are, as it is known to every one who has but cursorily turned his attention to this subject, many extensive groupes or families of languages comprehended in the great class of American idioms, and some of these groupes extend over regions of the New World as wide as those which fall under the domain of the most extensively dispersed languages in the Old Continent. Within these families or groupes there is not only grammatical but verbal resemblance. This, indeed, seems at present to be the principle of distribution chiefly though by no means exclusively followed by the most learned writers on the ethnology of the New World. The leading and essential principles of grammatical formation having been generally viewed as analogous in the American languages, a resemblance in words has natu-

* Archæologia Americana, vol. ii.

rally come to be looked upon as the associating link between idioms of the same family, although, so far as the means of information have yet been acquired, it would appear that between those languages which resemble each other in words a much closer grammatical affinity subsists, as we might expect, than between idioms widely different in vocabulary, or of which the vocabularies display the least resemblance. There are, however, striking instances of resemblance in words between idioms very remotely separated as far as their grammatical structure is concerned. These are either accidental coincidences, which, when they are numerous, is extremely unlikely, or they are indicia of a nearer relation in past times between languages now very different.

SECTION III.— *Of the Characteristics of the American Languages.*

The most obvious and striking feature common to the languages of the native races of America is the peculiar manner in which they form compound words, by a process which Mr. du Ponceau, and after him M. de Humboldt, have termed agglutination. It was first discovered, says Mr. du Ponceau,* by Egede, and pointed out in his account of Greenland. Heckewelder gave a full account of it as found in the language of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware race. Governor Colden gave notice of its existence in the idiom of the Iroquois or Six Nations; and Molina, in his grammar of the Chilian language, furnished instances which prove that the same principle of construction prevails in the southern part of the New World. It seems now to be recognised as a general character of the American languages. I shall collect some instances from the accounts of the Delaware language that may afford an idea of the nature of this peculiarity.

In order to understand the difference between the American method of agglutination and the ordinary composition of words in many other families of languages, we must observe that the American idioms make up new compounds from a

* Grammar of the language of the Lenni Lenape, by Dr. du Ponceau.

number of small fragments of simple words, and again treating these compounds as if they were simple vocables, mutilate or contract them to form other aggregate words. The extent to which this method of abbreviation and agglutination is carried in these idioms is much greater than in the instance of any known language of the Old Continent, unless the Euskarian be excepted. The Euskarian, indeed, resembles the American language in this respect, but it does not appear to carry this peculiarity so far as it is found to prevail in the idioms of America. In both, however, the elements of simple words which enter into these compound vocables are but small parts of those words, and occasionally a single letter. One of the examples of this structure adduced by Du Ponceau and Heckewelder is a phrase of which the following account has been given. When a Delaware woman, says Mr. du Ponceau, is caressing or playing with a little dog or cat, or some other young animal, she will often say to it *kuligatschis*, meaning, 'give me your pretty little paw.' The word is thus compounded: *k* is the inseparable pronoun of the second person; it represents *ki;* it means either *thou* or *thy: uli* is part of the word *wulit*, meaning 'handsome' or 'pretty;' *gat* is a part of the word *wichgat*, meaning 'leg' or 'paw;' and *schis* is a diminutive termination. In the correspondence of Heckewelder and Mr. du Ponceau we find other illustrations. Heckewelder gives the following. The Lenni Lenape express by one word, and that not a very long one, the phrase, 'come with the canoe and take us across the river.' The word is *nadholineen*. The first syllable, *nad*, is derived from the word *naten*, 'to fetch;' the second, *hol*, is put for *amochol*, a boat or canoe; *ineen* is the verbal termination meaning *us*, as in *millineen*, 'give us.' The simple ideas expressed by these fragments of words are, *fetch—in canoe—us;* but its usual acceptation is, 'come and fetch us across the river with a canoe.' The verb thus formed is conjugated through all the moods and tenses, which are in the Delaware language very numerous and complicated. Thus *nadholawall* is the form of the third person singular indicative in the present tense and passive voice: it means, 'he is fetched over the river in a canoe.'

It seems that the names of material objects are often compounded epithets formed on a similar principle. *Amanganaschquiminschi,* the name given to the Spanish oak remarkable for the largeness of its leaves, means, 'the tree which has the largest leaves shaped like a hand.'* In this compound the noun is expressed by the last syllable, *schi,* which stands for *achpansi,* the stock or trunk of a tree. Again, *nanayunges* means a horse. It is formed from *aweses,* 'a beast,' of which only the last syllable is taken, and *nayundam,* 'to carry a burden on the back or shoulders;' the word for horse means then the beast that carries a burden on its back.

The principle on which abbreviations of words are made for the purpose of composition is yet unknown. M. de Humboldt seems to suppose that the radical parts or primitive portions of words survive truncation, and are brought into compounds after having been stripped only of their accidental adjuncts. He refers to an instance in the national appellation of the Delaware tribe. *Lenape* means 'man;' *Lenni,* 'the original' or 'native unmixed.' *Lenni Lenape,* or the 'original or native unmixed people,' is the name of the Delaware nation. *Lenni,* in the sense of native, combined with *ape,* which means 'walking upright,' expresses 'the upright walking natives.' That the word *Lenape* thus properly means 'men' appears from another compound. *Pilape,* 'a young man,' contains the abbreviated forms of *pilsit,* 'innocent,' 'chaste,' and *ape,* the characteristic part with respect to meaning of the word *Lenape.*

Later writers have thought that the syllables which represent in composition polysyllabic words are themselves the radical portions of those words. It was observed by Mr. Schoolcraft, a well-informed and judicious writer, that in the Chippewa, one of the dialects of the great and widely spread Algonquin language, or rather family of languages, almost all the radical words are of one or two syllables. This renders it probable, as Mr. Gallatin has remarked, that in com-

* It is formed thus:—from *wunipach,* 'a leaf,' *nach,* 'a hand,' and *quim,* a particular kind of nut, comes *wunipachquim,* 'an acorn.' The name means 'the nut of the tree the leaves of which resemble a hand;' the word *manganachquiminsi,* or 'the tree which has the largest leaves shaped like a hand.'

pounding these words the Algonquins select and preserve in composition those syllables which are the roots of the words destined to enter into the compounds or aggregates. Mr. Gallatin adds that of the Mexican roots when divested of all adjuncts a considerable proportion consist of monosyllables or dissyllables. But in the Mexican languages, which are those of the most cultivated nations in America, words compounded of many roots are less frequent than in the idioms of ruder tribes.

It still remains somewhat doubtful whether the compound words of the Delaware language and the cognate idioms are formed on a principle regularly etymological, or are merely rapid abbreviations without any fixed law of formation, and such as habit alone could enable the hearer to comprehend, though this supposition would imply a degree of barbarism, which, though we might *à priori* expect to find it among nations in the state of the American tribes, is incompatible with the extremely complicated and yet regular nature of their grammatical forms.

In many other classes of languages, as in the Indo-European, and particularly in Greek and Sanskrit, it is universally known that compound words are formed of significant elements, and that epithets thus denoting the most remarkable attributes or qualities become names of objects, such as Philomela and Hyperion. Such compounds, however, bear but a slight resemblance to the long aggregate expressions of the American languages, and the only Greek compound words which are comparable with those of the Lenape, are the long fantastical epithets used in burlesque by Aristophanes in some of his comedies. If we could imagine the main stock of words belonging to a language to be made up of such materials, and adapted not to poetry either serious or ludicrous, but to the purposes of ordinary conversation, we should perhaps have an idea of the nature of the words which furnish names for objects in the American idioms.

But it is not in the names of objects that the only essential peculiarity of the American languages consists. These languages, like the idioms of perhaps all nations in a similar

state of society, may be said to be rather more subjective than objective. The prevailing impulse in a rude people of hunters and warriors is, not to discriminate the qualities of external objects, but to give vent to the internal feelings, passions, and desire of their own minds: their egoism, or personal volition and action, is ever uppermost and the predominant movement of their mental life. Circumstances and externals are secondary, and draw but little of their attention. Hence verbs or words expressive of emotion, will, and action, are the principal words in these languages, and are developed in the greatest variety of forms. There is a constant tendency to involve in the expression of the verb, and to denote in one word as much as possible, the circumstances and conditions of the agent, and the external relations of the act he has performed, or is perhaps about to perform. The alterations in the forms of verbs thus induced go further than the changes of mood, tense, and conjugation, which are common in different degrees to most languages. They are contrived to express, without the use of distinct words, as many varieties and shades of meaning as is possible. Even physical objects, and especially where pronouns are used, are pointed out without being expressed, through some slight alteration in the forms of verbs.

The following examples of the composition of meanings in verbs are given by Heckewelder. *K'olamoe* means 'thou hast spoken the truth.' It is derived from *ki*, 'thou,' *wulik* or *wulit*, meaning 'good words;' the last syllable of the word implies the act of speaking.

This verb in the third person is *wulamoe*, 'he has spoken the truth.' Hence, *wagan* being a formative like *heit*, *keit*, *ness* in German and English, comes *wulamoewagan*, 'the truth.'

Faith, or belief that a person has spoken the truth, requires the insertion of another word in the compound. *Glistam* is a verb meaning to hear, hearken, listen. This compounded with the preceding gives *wulistamoewagan*, 'the belief of what a man has seen or heard;' *wulista*, 'believe it;' *wulistam*, 'he believes.' *Ammen* or *tammen*, abridged from *kittamen*,

means 'to do,' 'perform,' 'adopt.' *Wulamhittamoewagan* is 'full belief;' *nolsittammen*, 'I believed.' Thus *wulistammen* means simply 'to believe;' *wulamsittammen*, 'to believe with full conviction.'

SECTION IV.—*Universality of these Characteristics among the American Languages.*

It is the opinion of those writers who have paid much attention to the subject, that all the languages of the American races partake of the same leading characters of construction. M. du Ponceau, who first made this observation, has given them the designation of polysynthetic, which he thus explains. Synthetic languages are those in which several ideas are frequently expressed by one word, as by the Latin word *nolo*, which in analytical languages, namely, the modern idioms, requires four words, 'I am not willing,' to translate it. Du Ponceau said that the American languages are synthetic in a degree unequalled by any other human idioms of which he had any knowledge. "That they deserve to make a class by themselves cannot be doubted. They are the very opposite of the Chinese, which is, of all languages, the poorest in words as well as in grammatical forms, while the American languages are the richest in both. In fact a great variety of forms necessarily implies a great multiplicity of words; I mean complex forms like those of the native Americans: compound words in which many ideas are included together, and are made to strike the mind in various ways by the simple addition or subtraction of a letter or syllable. In the Chinese much is understood or guessed at, little is expressed: in the American, on the contrary, the mind is awakened to each idea meant to be conveyed by some one or other of the component parts of the word spoken. These two varieties of language, therefore, as far as relates to their organisation, stand in direct contrast to each other: they form the top and bottom of a scale of human idioms." Du Ponceau gives to the former the name of *asyntactic*, and to the latter that of *syntactic*, which he afterwards changed for the more expres-

sive term *polysynthetic.* Polysynthetic languages are those, as he says, in which the greatest number of ideas are comprised in the least number of words. This is done " particularly by means of the verb, which is so constructed that its various forms and inflections will express not only the principal action, but the greatest possible number of the moral ideas and physical objects connected with it, combining to the greatest extent those conceptions which in other languages require to be expressed by separate and distinct words." *

Du Ponceau was led by his researches to the important conclusion that the characteristic system of organisation, which he calls polysynthetic, prevails in all the American languages from Greenland to Cape Horn.

He has not given proofs that this assertion holds good of every particular idiom, because many are yet unknown, but he has taken the principal languages known in different parts of America as specimens of the whole number.

Pursuing this plan, he selects in North America three principal mother-tongues, the Karalit or the language of Greenland and the Esquimaux, the Delaware or Lenapian language, and the Iroquois or that of the Six Nations.

The principal sources of information respecting the Karalit or Esquimaux are the works of Egede and Crantz. " According to the venerable Egede words are formed in the language of Greenland by taking and joining together a part of each of the separate words, the ideas connected with which it is the object of the speaker to combine together in one compound expression. One or more syllables of each simple word are generally chosen for that purpose and combined together, the harsh consonants being often omitted for the sake, as the writer supposes, of euphony. One example will serve to illustrate this method as it prevails in the Esquimaux language. The compound verb *agglekiniaret* means ' he endeavours to write better.' It is formed from the simple words *agglekpok,* ' he writes,' *pekipok,* ' he improves or does better,' and *pinniarpok,* ' he endeavours.' The first syllable, *agl,* is

* Correspondence with Heckewelder, p. 401. Compare Du Ponceau's Report, p. 30.

taken from *aglekpok;* the second, *ek,* from the same word and also from '*pekipok,*' leaving out the *p* to avoid harshness of sound; and the third part *inniar* from *pinniarpok,* also omitting the initial consonant." Du Ponceau first observed that a similar principle of construction prevails in the Delaware language.*

The two great rival and even hostile families of nations who to the southward of the Esquimaux occupy the greatest part of Canada and the United States are the Algonquin race, of which the Lenni Lenape are a branch, and the Iroquois or Six Nations, to whom the Hurons belong. That the languages of the former are of the polysynthetic class may be collected from what I have already said, and it has been proved from the correspondence of Heckewelder and Du Ponceau. For proof in regard to the Iroquois language we are referred to the grammatical works of the missionaries Pyrlæus and Zeisberger.

From the languages of Middle America Du Ponceau selects as instances the Poconchi, spoken in the province of Guatemala, of which Thomas Gage in his voyage to New Spain has given a short account, sufficient, however, to display its polysynthetic character; and also the celebrated Aztec or Mexican language, and the Tarascan dialect. In these languages there are reflected, transitive, compulsive, applicative, meditative, communicative, reverential, frequentative, and other complex forms of verbs, which have been explained and exemplified by the Spanish and American grammarians, Tapia Zenteno, F. Antonio de Rincoa, and F. Diego Banalenque. From the grammars existing of other languages of Mexico, though many of them are imperfect, enough may be collected to prove that these idioms also partake of the general character of the American dialects. Zenteno's grammar of the Huastecan shows that it has the compulsive or causative and the transitive verbs, and the pronominal affixes, which also exist in the Mixtecan and even in the Othomi.

In South America Du Ponceau alludes to the languages of its two extreme parts, the Caribbean and the Araucanian

* Heckewelder's Correspondence, p. 401.

idioms. He refers to the Caribbean dictionary compiled by Father Breton, and to the grammar of the Araucan or Chilian language appended by Molina to his history of Chili, as furnishing proof that these two languages are polysynthetic in the highest degree, and bear in their forms the greatest analogy to the languages of North America. A specimen of this analogy is one word in the Araucano, *iduancloclavin*, expressing a whole sentence, 'I do not like to eat with him.' The Lenni Lenape likewise express the same sense in one word, which is *n'schingiwipoma.*

I may observe that all the latest researches into the structure of the American languages, of which the results have been made known, have tended to confirm the opinion of Heckewelder and Du Ponceau, that the grammatical construction of all the American languages is founded on similar principles. There is certainly a general resemblance in the syntactical type of many, and perhaps in the languages most widely spread, but there is no proof of the universal prevalence of these phenomena. For elucidation of this subject we must await the great work on the American languages of the Baron von Humboldt and Professor Buschmann. I am assured by M. Buschmann that a certain number of languages are excepted from the general observation of resemblance in type. To reconcile the great variation of external appearances with the general character will be the last aim of Professor Buschmann's researches, and "this promises," as he says, "to enrich philological science and ethnology with a theorem as yet unknown."

We may, however, rest satisfied for the present with the fact, established by undoubted proofs, that all the great families of nations in the New World belong to the number whose languages are analogous.

SECTION V.—*General Observations on the Relations of the American Languages.*

It is very difficult to explain in a satisfactory manner the phenomena presented by the American languages; I mean

the great analogy of grammatical structure and the immense diversity of words.

The former seems to argue unity of origin or of culture. It cannot be imagined that the American races have any organic peculiarity which could lead them to construct languages of similar formation in all parts of the continent, on the supposition that these languages have been formed separately among as many different tribes or nations as there are distinct idioms. We cannot escape from the conviction that they must have been developed under some common and generally pervading influence. But if they thus originated, it is obvious to suppose that they must have had a corresponding resemblance in roots and words in general.

It is possible that the diversity of roots may be found hereafter less than it is supposed to be. A number of vocabularies belonging chiefly to North American races have lately been carefully collated by Dr. Latham. The result of this comparison has been the discovery of many words in most of the vocabularies which so nearly resemble as to indicate, as far as these words are concerned, a common origin. It does not appear that these words, which, belonging to different groupes of languages, are yet constituent parts of their respective vocabularies, extend in any case to a considerable proportion of the primitive terms. But still they are on the whole very numerous, and, when taken in connection with the grammatical analogy, they tend to increase the evidence arising from this consideration.

There are peculiarities in the very nature of the American languages which are likely to produce great varieties in words, and to obliterate in a comparatively short period the traces of resemblance.

1. The great length of words in the American languages is unfavourable to the preservation of resemblance between vocabularies of separated tribes. It has been observed by the commander of the late Exploring Expedition of the United States, that in a country of no great extent near Walla-walla in the Oregon territory, in petty tribes who had been within a limited space of time mostly at peace with each other, and had had much intercourse, very few could understand their

immediate neighbours. The apparent cause of this discrepancy is said to be the length of the American words, which are always abbreviated in conversation. It is remarked that one tribe of Indians are known very soon to acquire the language of another.* It is impossible, in fact, that the memory can be so tenacious of long polysyllabic words as of shorter ones; and if the habit prevails of truncating words at the beginnings and endings without rule or limit, it is very obvious that any resemblance that existed between them originally may soon be lost. In the languages of Asia and Europe roots are either monosyllables or at most dissyllables, and these are not so much lengthened out by additional syllables as the American languages. Hence they are better retained in memory. It is in fact principally in words of not more than two syllables that those resemblances exist which are so striking when the different members of the same family, as of the Indo-European or the Syro-Arabian groupe of languages, are compared.

2. It is easy to perceive that the agglutinative system of formation, which is the principle of structure belonging to the American languages, must tend effectually to destroy resemblance. We have seen that it is the custom in conversing in the Delaware language to aggregate some parts merely of as many words as may occur to the mind of the speaker in order to construct for temporary use a compound word that shall comprehend all the circumstances of any action. Thus, the expression, 'fetch us in a canoe,' is made up of certain truncated parts of the several words included in what we should call a sentence, but of which the Americans must need make one word. In this *hol* stands for *amochol*. It must soon happen among people who have the habit of thus expressing themselves, that only those persons who live near to each other and have some acquaintance and frequent intercourse can readily make themselves mutually intelligible. They must apparently know something of each other's thoughts and habits of mind before they can understand such casual and arbitrary enunciations of meaning, in which words

* American Exploring Expedition, vol. iv. p. 468.

newly coined for the occasion are of perpetual occurrence. It does not appear certain that the compound words are formed on any regular etymological principle, such as that of preserving entire the roots of words thus aggregated or agglutinated together. And even if this rule originally existed, it must, from the nature of things and the necessity of expressing new ideas, be violated so often as to be in a practical point of view entirely lost.

We have seen that this peculiarity of structure in language, which has been elucidated as existing in the Delaware idiom by Heckewelder and Du Ponceau, is not confined to one family of languages in America, but is common to all the known idioms of that continent. An example has been cited from the idiom of Chili.

3. Another cause which has been observed to render obscure and difficult of detection the original connections between American languages, and which must always have a tendency to increase or create differences in the vocabulary of idioms really cognate in their origin, is the imaginative and rhetorical disposition of the native people of the New World. In a barbarous state of society, and principally in one of early and imperfect but growing refinement of mind, the imagination has more influence in the formation of language than in a more advanced stage. When scientific accuracy and precision of thought and expression are required, and it becomes the habit of men to aim at such acquirements, the exercise of the imagination is restrained within very narrow limits. Observation and discrimination are employed. But figures and metaphors abound in the discourse of simple people, and hence the eloquence for which the American nations are celebrated. As a matter of fact it is the habit of the American tribes to substitute for words epithets which become conventionally established as ordinary terms. Dr. Scouler has observed that in the languages of the north-west coast in particular, the names even of simple and familiar objects, such as the sun, moon, day, and night, &c., are not simple nouns or names, but not unfrequently compound words or epithets. In this case he suggests, unless we possess an intimate knowledge of the influences of the verbs, and the nature of the indeclinable

particles, we might mistake two idioms nearly allied for primarily separate languages.*

An instance of the greater activity of the imagination in the formation of language is the practice, which, as Dr. Scouler assures us, prevails among the coast tribes of the north-west, of giving names to articles of European manufacture that are introduced among them by traders. These names are not, as among most rude nations, derived from the foreign terms for the same objects, but they are descriptive epithets formed in their own languages, and consequently different in the idiom of each particular tribe. For example, the name for a gimlet among the Chemesyans is a compound formed from the noun, which means 'a hole' or 'aperture,' and a verb signifying 'to make.' The compound name means 'a hole-maker.' In many languages spoken by other natives in different parts of the world, we find the names of objects introduced by foreigners, derived from the idioms of the people who first made these objects known, and thus we trace the terms for metals and grains and fruits from the idiom of some trading nation. The American nations, by exercising their inventive faculty, have thus deprived us of one opportunity of tracing analogies which are elsewhere discernible. It is evident that this habit must have had much influence in diversifying their languages.

The combined influence of these causes may be supposed to have occasioned the diversity of vocabulary so striking among the American languages when taken in connexion with their known grammatical analogy.

* Dr. Scouler on the Languages of the North-west Coast of America. Geogr. Journ. 1842.

CHAPTER II.

NATIONS OF CENTRAL AMERICA.

SECTION I.— *Geographical Survey of Central America.*

No region of the earth presents to our view phenomena so striking and singular in all the forms of living and inanimate nature as that part of America which is included between the northern tropic and the equinoctial line. The great mountain-chain which may be considered as the foundation and support of the whole American Continent from the Arctic Circle to Cape Horn, and which in the northern as well as the southern part of its long tract is cleft into immense parallel ridges or crests, including between them in some places wide and deep valleys, becomes in the atitude of Mexico a concentrated mass of mountains.* Forming a vast barrier between the two great oceans of the world, and defying on one side the force of the Atlantic current rushing in the gulf-stream against its feet, and on the other towering above the wide expanse of the Pacific, it supports a broad table-land or mountain-plain, the elevation of which is said to be equal to that of Mont Cenis, Mount St. Gothard, or the Great St. Bernard.† Above the level of this plateau lofty peaks crown insulated hills, forming as it were islets in the midst of the aerial ocean. Four summits higher than the rest near Xalapa and Cordova, called in the Aztec language Popocatepetl or the Smoky Mountain, Iztaccihuatl, or the White Woman, Citlaltepetl, and Nauhcampatepetl, or

* M. de Humboldt's Polit. Essay on New Spain, transl. vol. i.

† Ibid. p. 51.

the Cofre de Perote, from 13,000 to 17,000 feet in height, rival the most elevated of the Peruvian Andes.* Most of the rocky mountains of Anahuac have the forms of cones or pyramids, or of ancient towers or buttresses; some of them are covered with eternal snow. Extensive lakes diversify the surface of this plain: they are the remains of ancient basins which formerly covered vast spaces in the upland of the Cordillera. One of these, the great lake of Chalapa in New Galicia, is double the extent of the Lake of Constance; and the lakes of Chalco, Tescuco, and Xaltocan occupy, according to M. de Humboldt, a fourth part of the valley of Mexico.† Organic life in this region shows peculiar tendencies. The forms which it exhibits in other countries are here wanting. In the treeless plains of Anahuac nature displays singular, striking, and almost unsightly shapes. The rocky soil is covered in vast spaces by fields of the agave or prickly manguey, where the dumb dog and the xoloitzihintli or bald wolf of Mexico, and various lacertine reptiles wander. But the most remarkable discovery in this strange land was the race of human inhabitants which it contained. It was there that the hunting red men of America had been induced by some inconceivable events to lay aside the indolence of savage life, to divest themselves of the instincts of their race, and partake themselves to the building of cities, to works of the finest art, to the task of observing and calculating the movements of the heavenly bodies, and chronicling the passages of their ancient history. The story of this people and of their tragical conquest is more like a fiction of romance than a chapter in the annals of mankind. On an island in the midst of the great Lake of Tescuco stood the city of Tenochtitlan, the royal capital of Montezuma, where, before the shrine of Mexitli, in temples decorated with silver and gold, trains of priests in gorgeous barbaric array immolated countless human victims. The rites of Moloch and Ashtaroth were humane compared with the appalling barbarities by which the superstitious Aztecas

* M. de Humboldt's Polit. Essay on New Spain, transl. vol. i. p. 62.

† Ibid. p. 73.

sought to appease the unrelenting avengers of guilt, the creations of an evil conscience, and of a malignity which all the institutions of this people tended to foster and exasperate. The Aztecas were diligent cultivators of the earth. They had not only the skill of working mines and producing for use all the metals which their soil concealed, but could set gems in silver and gold, and display fine performances of art, which, as Clavigero says, astonished the most skilful workmen in Europe. The natives of Mexico erected stupendous edifices which rivalled those of Egypt; and, although they had scarcely attained to the greatest of human inventions, perhaps only once achieved by men under the most favourable auspices, that of symbols representing the sounds of words,* they had long aspired after it and had contrived a method of recording events and handing down to memory the glorious deeds of their ancestors. The Mexicans had even made advancement in science, and had a solar year, with intercalations more accurately calculated than that of the Greeks and Romans.† They appear to have been influenced by a deep sentiment of veneration for a supernatural and invisible power; had orders of priests, who performed the rites of a stately ceremonial, and splendid pomps and processions in honor of the gods. The accounts left by the "Conquistadores" hardly suffice to furnish an idea of their social condition; but as far as we can form an opinion, it does not appear that the Aztecas, though in one sense partially civilised, had derived from their cultivation of arts any moral improvement: their character displays all the worst principles of human nature in its savage state.

The lofty plain of Anahuac is of vast extent; M. de Humboldt, to whom we are indebted for the best account of its formation, assures us that it reaches far beyond the tropic, and approaches the 40th degree of northern latitude.‡ Its length is equal to that of a line drawn from Lyons, across

* Indications, however, are not wanting of an occasional attempt at the use of hieroglyphics in a phonetic method. See Prescott's History of the Conquest of Mexico, vol. i. p. 86.

† Humboldt, ibid. p. 133.

‡ Humboldt, ibid. p. 52, 54.

the north of Africa, to the Torrid Zone, and through a space of 2200 leagues its climate is rather cold than temperate. The "Sierra Fria," or "Cold Land," as it is termed by the inhabitants, is bordered by two zones of a lower level and of different vegetation, called by the Spaniards "Sierra Templada" and "Sierra Caliente."* "The Sierra Templada or temperate region sweeps along the base of vast mountains ever gleaming with volcanic fires, and still resplendent with their mantles of snow, which serve as beacons to the mariner for many a league at sea. All around, the traveller beholds traces of ancient combustion as his road passes along vast tracts of lava bristling in the fastastic forms into which the fiery torrent has been thrown by the obstacles to its career. After descending 4000 feet he finds himself in the true climate of the tropics, where the vanilla, indigo, groves of cocoa-trees and sugar-canes, and plants emitting intoxicating perfumes, cover with luxuriant vegetation and with impervious thickets a soil teeming with the pestilential diseases of equinoctial countries."†

But a small part of Anahuac obeyed the sceptre of the Aztecan emperor, whose power had long been in the decline before the arrival of the Spaniards. The great cities of the Aztecs were chiefly in the valley of Tenochtitlan, which was situated near the middle of the Continent. The surface of this valley, though comparatively depressed, maintains an elevation of more than 7000 feet. It is encompassed by a towering rampart of porphyritic rocks.‡ The kings of Acolhuacan, Thacopan, and Michuacan were independent princes. Extensive ruins of towns and villages observed in Mexico under the 18th and 20th degrees of latitude prove that the former population of that region was much greater than the present. There were barbarous races, as well as others who had adopted the ancient Mexican civilisation within the limits of Anahuac; and of the latter several appear to have been foreign to the race and lineage of the Aztecas. We shall now advert to the history of these races.

* Humboldt, p. 65, 66.

† Prescott, History of the Conquest of Mexico, vol. i. p. 6.

‡ Ibid.

SECTION II.—*On the Mexican History.*

Paragraph 1.—Sources of Information.

The Spanish conquerors found on their arrival other nations besides the subjects of Montezuma on the Mexican plateau. Some of these were of the same race as the Aztecs and spoke the language of the Aztecas, or dialects of it, and claimed in their traditions an ancient affinity with that people. Among the races who were distinct from the Aztecas according to the prevalent opinion and the testimony afforded by diversity of language, there were some who were hardly inferior to the Aztecas in civilisation. We have much less knowledge of the history of these nations than of the Aztecas, though some of them are supposed to have had hieroglyphical records or documents resembling those of Mexico. It is well known that the Aztecas themselves had acquired the art of commemorating by a sort of picture-writing or by hieroglyphical or symbolic paintings the events of their history. This art had not attained in Mexico the degree of perfection to which it had been brought among the ancient Egyptians, but it was so far advanced as to have served as an important aid to memory, and to facilitate the recording of events and the most remarkable phenomena of the heavens, of which the Mexicans had been for some ages accurate observers. On the real value of the Mexican hieroglyphics I shall cite a writer whose opinions are entitled to the highest authority.

"The pictorial records of the Mexicans appear," says Mr. Prescott, "to the unlearned eye like an assemblage of the most grotesque figures and unintelligible riddles. Any person who for the first time examines the historical paintings of which copies are contained in Lord Kingsborough's magnificent collection, must be convinced that after all the pains which the artist has bestowed in the delineation, the story could hardly be guessed without the aid of oral tradition or of

some clue to the interpretation." A Mexican text, as the same writer has truly observed, resembles a collection of pictures, each one forming the subject of a particular study. This is especially the case with the delineations relating to mythology, in which the meaning is to be collected from groupes of symbols that might remind us rather of the mysterious anaglyphs sculptured on the walls of Egyptian temples than of records expressed in the more regular and continuous compositions found in the papyri. In the interpretation of such picture writings much was evidently confided to memory; but we are assured by one of the early writers of Mexican history, who lived in the century after the conquest, and was himself descended from the royal family of Tescuco, that great care was taken to instruct youth in the meaning of the hieroglyphic paintings. In the composition of an historical work, according to Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, "one artist had charge of the chronology, another of the events. Every part of the labour was thus mechanically distributed. The pupils, instructed in all that was before known in their several departments, were prepared to extend still further the boundaries of their imperfect science. The hieroglyphics served as a sort of stenography, a collection of notes, suggesting to the initiated much more than could be conveyed by a literal interpretation. This combination of the written and the oral comprehended what may be called the literature of the Aztecs."

"Clumsy as it was, however, the Aztec picture-writing seems to have been adequate to the wants of the people in their imperfect state of civilisation. By means of it were recorded all their laws, and even their regulations for domestic economy; their tribute-rolls specifying the imports of the various towns; their mythology, calendars, and rituals, their political annals, carried back to a period long before the foundation of the city. They digested a complete system of chronology, and could specify with accuracy the dates of the most important events in their history, the year being inscribed on the margin against the particular circumstances recorded. It is true that history thus executed must necessarily be vague and fragmentary. Only a few leading incidents could

be preserved. But in this it did not differ much from the monkish chronicles of the dark ages, which often dispose of years in a few brief sentences."*

The sources of information on the history of ancient Mexico which are accessible at the present time are of two kinds. The most authentic, though of very limited extent and somewhat doubtful interpretation, are the yet extant remains of hieroglyphical paintings or pictorial records, from which some meaning may still be elicited by a careful study of the import of all the symbolic figures which accompany them. Most of these are supposed to have been executed shortly after the conquest, but they bear indications of having been copied from more ancient documents of a similar description. They have nearly the same character and similar contents. But besides these remains, which are but very scanty relics of the Aztec literature, the greater part of which has been destroyed, we must reckon as another source of knowledge the writings of various authors who undertook soon after the conquest to compile the annals of the Aztec monarchy. From these we obtain much more extensive information if we can depend on its authenticity. The writers were persons of credit. Some of them were of the Mexican or of the Tezcucan race, others Spanish or Italian ecclesiastics who had devoted themselves with great zeal and perseverance to the study of Mexican antiquities. For this study their resources were Mexican picture records, of which a much greater number existed in their time, and the traditionary explanations which were given in those early times of the import of the manuscripts, aided, as it is asserted of old and by some believed, by historical poems, which it is said to have been the custom on particular

* The Aztecs, according to Mr. Prescott, were acquainted with the various uses of hieroglyphical painting. They used figures of objects, not only as direct representations, which is properly picture-writing, but as symbols or conventional signs of abstract ideas. Thus, 'a tongue' denoted speaking, 'a foot-print' travelling. *They even used them phonetically*, chiefly in expressing proper names. Cimatlan, the name of a place, was compounded of the symbol of *Cimatl*, a root, and *tlan*, signifying *near*. But though they had thus far advanced, they continued to use, for the most part, the ruder method instead of the more refined.

occasions to recite.* I shall endeavour to give my readers a brief summary of what has been obtained from these different sources. This will be better understood after following a short outline of the series of events, which I shall abstract from the long and detailed narration of Clavigero.

Paragraph 2.—Outline of the Mexican History, according to Clavigero.

The most important part of the Mexican annals is the account which they contain of the migration of the Aztecs and other kindred nations from distant countries to the plain of Anahuac, where they established several successive or contemporaneous kingdoms. The regions whence these nations emigrated were named in these records or traditions, but their real situations are not certainly known. The first migration was that of the Toltecas, who, according to the tradition preserved respecting them, came from an unknown country termed by them Huehue-Tlapallan, the primitive or ancient Tlapallan. Their march from thence towards Mexico began, according to Clavigero, about the year of our era 544,† and this is the very oldest epoch in the history of the New World. They are said to have made their appearance in Mexico in the year 648.† As the Toltecan history is only known through the tradition preserved by the later Aztecas, it is impossible to attach full credit to the particulars of their story. There is a general consent in the Mexican traditions in the statement that they arrived in Mexico before the close of the seventh

* Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl says that historical poems were recited in public schools among the ancient Mexicans, in which the traditions of the race were recorded. Mr. Prescott gives credit to this assertion, and he has cited the following passage from the original work of the author. "Los cantos con que las observaban autores muy graves en su modo de ciencia y facultad, pues fuéron los mismos reyes, y de la gente mas ilustre y entendida, que siempre observáron y adquiriéron la verdad, y esta con tanta razon, quanta pudiéron tener los mas graves y fidedignos autores."

† There is a considerable difference in the computation of the dates of Mexican history among the Spanish writers.

century.* The Toltecas were a people well skilled in agriculture and many of the more useful mechanical arts. They were the inventors of the complex arrangement and denotation of time adopted by the Aztecs. They established their capital at Tula, to the northward of the Mexican valley, where extensive ruins, existing at the era of the conquest, attested their ancient magnificence. The noble remains of temples and other buildings still to be seen in various parts of New Spain, are referred to this people, whose name Toltec has passed, says Mr. Prescott, into a synonym for *architect.* M. de Humboldt terms the Toltecas the Pelasgi of the New World. He says: "The Toltecas introduced the cultivation of maize and cotton; they built cities, made roads, and constructed those great pyramids which are yet admired, and of which the faces are very accurately laid out. They knew the use of hieroglyphic paintings; they could found metals and cut the hardest stones; and they had a solar year more perfect than that of the Greeks and Romans."* The Toltecas are said to have been a warlike and civilised people, but by various calamities they lost possession of Mexico, after an abode of uncertain duration; and their descendants chiefly remained in the southern provinces of Guatimala, Tabasco, and Nicaragua, where they retained the Mexican language and manners.

The Chechemecas were the next people of the Mexican race who came to Anahuac. They were a more wild and barbarous people than the Toltecas, and some of their tribes never adopted the habits of civilised life, but blending themselves with hordes of the Othomi, a savage nation bordering on Mexico, continued to follow a nomadic life in the mountainous countries to the northward of that empire. The Chechemecas are said to have come from a northern country termed Amaquemecan, where they had long dwelt under a succession of kings of their own race. They arrived in Anahuac, according to Clavigero, in the year 1170, not many years before the first of the Nahuatlacas; they occupied the

* Prescott's Hist. of the Conquest of Mexico, vol. i. chap. 1.

† Political Essay, i. p. 133.

countries formerly under the Toltecas, but settled chiefly in the eastern parts. The Tlascalans were, according to some writers,* a tribe of this race, and were originally called Teochechemecas. The Chechemecas also subdued the Totonacs, who, according to the traditional accounts credited among themselves, had inhabited the region of the Tescucan lake before the arrival of their conquerors.†

The Acolhuas, a more civilised and polished nation, were also of the same stock; for in Tescuco, their capital city, the purest dialect of the Mexican language was spoken, and the names of their chiefs were all Mexican. They were never subdued by the kings of Mexico, but were in alliance with them at the arrival of the Spaniards. They came from Teo-Acolhuacan, a country not far distant from Amaquemecan, but the date of their arrival in Anahuac is not exactly known.

The most important and best authenticated event in the history of this people is the arrival of the Nahuatlacas, or the Seven Tribes, in Anahuac; which, according to Clavigero, and the authors deemed by him most worthy of credit, took place in 1178 and the eighteen succeeding years.‡ They came from Aztlan, a country far to the north-west of Mexico, and the different stages of their wandering march were recorded in their hieroglyphic tables. They were termed collectively the Seven Tribes: all spoke the same language, and were originally of the same race; individually they were the Sochimilcas, who founded Xochimilco on the shores of the lake of Chalco; the Chalcans, who settled eastward of the same lake; the Colhuas of Colhuacan, a country distinct from the more celebrated Acolhuacan; the Tlascalans; the Tlahuicas; the Tepanecans, long the most powerful people in Anahuac; and, lastly, the Aztecas, or Mexicans, who, like the ancient Romans, were for many years an insignificant people, but finally acquired a preponderating influence over all the neighbouring countries.§

The Toltecas, the Chechemecas, from whom the inhabitants of Tlascala were descended, the Acolhuas and the Nahuat-

* Torquemada. See Clavigero, book ii.
† Ibid.
‡ Clavigero, vol. ii. diss. 2.
§ Clavig. vol. ii. diss. 2.

lacas, of whom the Aztecas were a particular tribe, were all of one race, since it appears that they spoke the same language, though with some variety of dialect.* There were, however, many other nations in New Spain who were of different races. Most of these had probably been inhabitants of the country long before the invasion of the Toltecas. The Othomi, the Tarascas, the Zapotecas, the Mixtecas, the Mayas, a people of Yucatan, the Matlazingas, the Huastecas, the Caquiquel, the Tarahumaras, the Tepehuan, and the Cora, are enumerated by M. de Humboldt as people speaking distinct languages.

The question whether the Toltecas and the Mexicans were of one race has been argued at length by Clavigero, whose reasons appeared sufficient to M. de Humboldt, and afterwards by Hervas and by Vater, who had added several observations to the same effect. This last writer has shewn that the extension of the Mexican language as far to the southward as Nicaragua, of which there is proof, can only be attributed to the early dispersion of the Toltecs, for there is no reason to suppose that any part of the Seven Tribes or Nahuatlacas were spread in this direction.

Paragraph 3.—Of the early Historians of Mexico and the Contents of their Works.

Chimalpain, Christoval del Castillo, and some other Mexicans, who lived soon after the conquest, are said to have written the history of their country and race in the Aztec language. The contents of these books are unknown to Europeans.† Much more celebrated than any of them is the work of Sahagun, written at first in the Mexican, but translated by the author into the Castilian language. It is

* See Clavigero; Humboldt's Polit. Essay; Hervas, Catalog. delle Lingue, cap. i. art. 6.

† Clavigero has a long list of authors partly Mexicans or Tescucans, and partly Castilians or Spanish Mexicans, who wrote on the history of Mexico, which seems to have been a popular theme.

supposed to have been the source whence many other writers have borrowed much, as Torquemada,* and more lately Clavigero. Bernardino de Sahagun was a Spanish Franciscan monk, who went to Mexico as early as 1529,† and died there in 1590. He is said to have made a long study of the hieroglyphical literature of the Mexican race in the city of Tescuco with the aid of native teachers. Mr. Gallatin, who is well qualified to estimate the merits of Sahagun, says that he is more careless of chronological accuracy than of other subjects. But Mr. Gallatin gives Sahagun the credit of having "invented nothing." He gives the names, durations of reigns, and dates as he received them from oral communication with the best-informed natives of each place in Mexico. He states the tradition respecting the Toltec nation as it was current in his time, and if he assigns no dates for the duration of their monarchy or any other event prior to the immigration of the Chichimecs, Acolhuas, and Mexicans, it is, as Mr. Gallatin observes, because nothing was known on these points or communicated to him by his informants. The most remarkable feature, in the opinion of the same critic, in Sahagun's historical notices, is that he, the most early Spanish author who collected Indian traditions and paintings, while his accounts are substantially the same as those of subsequent writers, does not attempt to give a single date prior to the twelfth century, and that in a vague manner, as when he says that the lords of Vexotla reigned 400 years, more or less. The most ancient date actually designated by him is 1246.

According to Sahagun, the Toltecs, arriving from the north, were the first inhabitants of the land of Mexico, and lived first at Tullantzinco, and afterwards at Tulla. "He speaks at large of their learning and their progress in arts, of their

* Torquemada himself went to Mexico about the middle of the sixteenth century, when the generation of the conquerors had not yet passed away. He spent fifty years in New Spain, and collected from the earliest missionaries and from other then accessible resources the materials for the history of the ancient Mexicans, which he embodied in his great work, entitled "La Monarquia Indiana."

† Viz. nine years after the death of Montezuma.

god Quetzalcoatl, and of a priest of the same name, at whose persuasion they left Tulla and went eastward to Tlapallan, the City of the Sun, which they destroyed. Those who escaped built Cholulla. Quetzalcoatl disappeared towards the east, but was expected by the Mexican nations to return. Cortez was at first taken for Quetzalcoatl, but his conduct soon undeceived them. All who speak the pure Mexican language, or the Nahoas or Nahuatlakas, are descendants of the Toltecs who did not follow Quetzalcoatl. Sahagun gives no date for the arrival of the Toltecs, but he says that the Chichimecas arrived in the valley of Tescuco twenty-two years after the destruction of Tulla, and that the first lord of Tescuco was called lord of the Chichimecas, and was elected 1246. The Tescucans had reigned about 300 years, on the arrival of Cortez. About 400 years is given as the duration of time from the first arrival of the Chichimecas from the north to the Spanish conquest." *

There were several other writers more or less connected with the Mexican race who devoted themselves to the history of their country. One of them, Don Fernando Pimentel Ixtlilxochitl, was the son of Coanocotzin, the last king of Acolhuacan. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl was more celebrated; he also was of the royal family of Tescuco. He wrote in Spanish the history of the Chichimecas, from whom the people of Acolhuacan were said to have descended. His work has lately been published in French by M. Ternaux-Compans. It comprises notices of all the great Mexican nations besides the proper Mexicans or Aztecs. The following abstract of it is taken from Mr. Gallatin's learned essay.

The ancient Mexicans had a remarkable series of traditions which bear a striking analogy to those of the Hindoos, and which, like that people, they connected with astronomical epochs. The returns of these epochs were connected with great revolutions of nature. At the end of each the world was destroyed and the sun extinguished. Fernando de Alva

* See Mr. Gallatin's admirable essay on the history of the semi-civilised nations of America, in the first volume of the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, p. 148.

began his history with an account of these pralayas. The three first ages comprised severally 1716, 1715, 1347 years. The first destruction was caused by an universal deluge, the second by earthquakes, the third by hurricanes. During the second age the earth was inhabited by giants; during the third by the Ulmecs or Olmecas and the Xicalangues. According to their own accounts these people came from the east in vessels or canoes; they landed at Potonchan and extended their settlements towards Chololan. They enjoyed great prosperity when Quetzalcoatl appeared among them, and having taught them he disappeared towards the east, where he had appeared, near the coast of Coatzacoalco. Immediately afterwards the hurricane destruction took place. Those who escaped built a temple to Quetzalcoatl, or god of air. According to the annals and histories the appearance of Quetzalcoatl synchronised with that of Christ.

The arrival of the Toltecas belongs to the fourth or present age of the world. Driven from their native land, after a long navigation along the coast of California, they arrived at Huehuetlapallan, A. D. 387. Thence sailing along Xalisco, they reached Tochtepec on the South Sea. They afterwards colonised Tollantzinco, and finally the city of Tollan, where they elected their first king A. D. 510. Nine kings ruled over them, in whose reigns they erected many splendid cities: the last was Topiltzin A. D. 882, in whose reign wars, plagues, and famine destroyed nearly the whole nation. The Toltecs were idolators and worshipped the sun and moon. In the wars between them and their enemies more than eight millions on both sides perished, and their final overthrow was in A. D. 959.

Five years after the destruction of the Toltecs, the great Chichimec, Xolotl, arrived in 963 with an army of more than a million of men from a northern country called Chicomoztoc, and, occupying the whole valley of Mexico, subdued the few Toltecs who, under the name of Culhuas, had remained on the borders of the lake. The residue of the Toltecs had fled into other countries, some of them to Nicaragua and beyond it. Forty-seven years after Xolotl's settlement in Anahuac, the Aculhuas came from the most remote part of Michoa-

can and united themselves with the Chichimecs. They had the same origin and consisted of three bands, the Tecpanecs, the Otomites, and the Aculhuas proper, speaking different languages and having different chiefs. Aculhua, prince of the Tecpanecs, married a daughter of Xolotl, and had three sons, one of whom, named Acamapichtli, reigned over the Tenuchcas or Mexicans: these were the last people who came and settled in Anahuac: they came from the borders of the province of Xalisco, and it appears that they were of the same race as the Toltecs, and of a family which at the destruction of the Toltecan empire had fled through Michoacan to Aztlan. The following history comprises a series of kings who reigned from this time to Montezuma, some of whom held the sceptre two or three hundred years. Their warlike achievements and the steps of advancement in arts and civilisation made during their reign are recorded.

It has been remarked by Mr. Gallatin that many impossible and absurd things are recorded in this narrative. Xolotl, who was a mythical person, is taken for a man, and dates are given with precision in times for which no records are known to have been preserved.

Paragraph 4.—Of the extant Mexican Pictorial Records and their Contents.

It cannot be imagined that a long train of events minutely narrated could be represented with all their circumstances in pictures so imperfectly descriptive as the pictorial manuscripts of the Mexicans. Such documents could only furnish aids to memory—pictures or symbols, of which the meaning might be preserved by tradition. But whatever may have been the value of these documents, they are with very few exceptions lost. The Spaniards sought for them and destroyed them with the most barbarous zeal and perseverance. Even in comparatively late times Boturini, who was a great collector of Mexican antiquities, underwent a severe persecution. Of the yet extant relics of this description one specimen was published and illustrated by M. de Humboldt in his 'Vues

des Cordillères,' and the remainder in the magnificent work of Lord Kingsborough. Mr. Gallatin has given us a critical account and a careful estimate of their contents, of which the following is a brief abstract.

The collection of Lord Kingsborough contains nearly all the historical paintings yet known and published which relate to the history of the Mexicans. They are very few in number, and all of them, with perhaps one exception, are compilations made subsequently to the conquest of Mexico. That one is a painting belonging to the collection of Boturini and described by him. The others in Lord Kingsborough's publication are entitled Codex Vaticanus and Codex Tellurianus, which have one common character, and being nearly identical in composition, are regarded but as one authority, and the compilation made by Mendoza, viceroy of Mexico, for the emperor Charles V. which fell into other hands and was first published by Purchas. If to these we add Gemelli's plate of the migration of the Aztecs, already well known in the work of Humboldt (plate xxxii.), there is no other published document of this description which bears directly on the history of the ancient Mexican race. These paintings have one common character. The chronology of events pourtrayed is ascertained in all by the well-known Mexican characters, distinguishing the series of years, and the interpretation is generally given either in Spanish or Italian. This is, however, subject to considerable doubt as to particulars, and Boturini's explanation of the painting belonging to his collection differs, for example, considerably from that which Clavigero afterwards affixed to it. Boturini described his manuscript as a map on India paper folded, which if extended would be equivalent to about twenty-three pages; and he adds, that it represents the departure of the Aztecs from the island of Aztlan and their arrival on the continent of New Spain, with the places where they stopped, and the respective years expressed in their characters; finally, the wars in which they engaged in the service of the king of Culhuacan. It is believed, says Mr. Gallatin, that a considerable portion of this map, which is graphical, may be interpreted by the aid of known hieroglyphics. The beginning of the painting re-

presents a man crossing a stream in a boat, leaving what appears to be an island; on the opposite side of the stream where the man is going to land, stands the hieroglyphic of the date, 1. Tecpatl. Afterwards there is an alternate succession of four human figures accompanied by hieroglyphics of years, and by others which mark the places where the Aztecs made any stay in their progress towards Mexico. The first appearance of the Aztecs in the valley of Mexico took place, according to all their legends, in the beginning of the thirteenth century. According to Clavigero, they arrived at Zanpanco in 1216. At Zanpanco the son of the lord of that city married an Aztec virgin: they had a son named Huitzilihuitl, who is represented in the paintings, not only in that of Boturini, but also in those of Gemelli and the Codex Vaticanus, as presented to the king of Culhuacan. The date of this transaction in the Aztec history is tolerably well known, and reckoning back from this, Mr. Gallatin says that the date of 1. Tecpatl, which is the earliest era in the manuscript of Boturini, coincides with the year 1064, and this is precisely the year which according to Gama, who has successfully investigated the remains of Mexican astronomy, has been assigned for the departure of the Aztecs as connected with the initial period of their astronomical cycle, or the era when they are said to have first "tied their years" and begun to count the successive dates of their history and the physical phenomena observed by them. Nothing in the representation determines the real position of the country whence the Aztecs emigrated, or of the spot on the coast where they are represented as landing. According to the conjecture of Boturini the stream crossed by the man in the boat was a part of the Gulf of California, and Aztlan, the presumed native country, was in Asia. Clavigero, who was much more rational than Boturini, placed the native country of the Aztecs somewhere to the northward of the Rio Gila, and he supposed that the stream crossed by them was the Rio Colorado of California: thence he attempted to trace their migratory march, ascribing to them the building of edifices, the remains of which are yet seen on the Rio Gila and at the Casas Grandes: he made them arrive at Hue-Colhuacan, now called Culiacan, where they erected a wooden

statue of their god Huitzilopochtli. These notions are merely conjectural, and there is reason to conclude that the country whence the Aztecs emigrated was not far to the northward of Mechoacan. According to Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl they were the descendants of Toltecs who had emigrated after the fall of their celebrated Toltecan empire.

The real existence of this ancient empire of the Toltecs, which is said to have preceded by some centuries the ingress of the Aztecs, is the only point which appears well established in the early history of Mexico. It is admitted as a matter of undoubted truth by Mr. Gallatin, whose general conclusions respecting the Mexican history are as follows:—

"The commencement of the great Mexican empire, that is, the period when the kings of Mexico and Tescuco gained supremacy over the extensive regions bordering on the valley of Anahuac, was only 90 years prior to the conquest. A period of perhaps 300 years had preceded, during which the Mexican history is confined to petty wars of the Acolhuas or Tescucans, the Tecpanecs, the Aztecs or proper Mexicans, the Chalcas, the Tlascalans, the Cholullans, and those of Huexotzinco, all people of the same stock and speaking the same language. All these tribes, including the Chichimecs, whose name merged into that of the Acolhuas, appear to have migrated from the adjacent northern countries shortly after the dismemberment of the extensive and powerful empire of the Toltecs."

The universal tradition that the Toltecs belonged to the same stock as the Mexicans is confirmed by the existence, at the time of the Spanish conquest, of an ancient colony in Nicaragua speaking the same language and otherwise resembling the Mexicans. The duration of the Toltec monarchy is variously stated from vague tradition or conjecture by the early writers. About 400 years appears to be the most generally assigned period, which passed under nine sovereigns. "Respecting all this," says Mr. Gallatin, "nothing is certain but the existence of their monarchy, that they built several of the ancient monuments of Mexico, and that they were an agricultural and populous nation. It seems also probable that they made considerable progress in astronomy and other arts.

Their history rests entirely on tradition. No ancient documents could be imagined to exist but paintings similar to the Mexican, and of this kind nothing has yet been produced or probably existed at the era of the conquest corresponding with the date of the Toltec monarchy."

Prior to the Toltec monarchy the Ulmecas or Olmegas are mentioned; they are said to have erected the pyramid of Cholulla, and among them Quetzalcoatl is reported to have appeared. Others with Sahagun regard Quetzalcoatl as a Toltec. Nothing is known on this subject, nor can we determine whether the Olmecas spoke the Aztec or a different language.

Of a civilisation much more ancient than the Toltec there can be no doubt, and the Toltec conquest is represented as the dismemberment of a more ancient monarchy. This is the utmost reach of continuous tradition. There is, indeed, an obscure though very remarkable recollection of the deluge, which, as Mr. Gallatin observes, had made too strong an impression on the minds of men to be ever forgotten; but the intervening time between that event and the immigration of the Toltecs is lost, and is only filled by the annalists of Mexico with the story of three successive destructions of the universe.

SECTION III.—*Of the Mayan Race and other aboriginal Inhabitants of Central America.*

Paragraph 1.—Languages of Mexico and Central America.

I have already observed that there were in the plain of Mexico and in the adjoining countries several races of people differing in language and apparently in descent from the Toltec and Aztec lineage. Some of these were perhaps as far advanced in civilisation as the Aztecs themselves; others were accounted barbarous. The following is the enumeration given by Hervas of the languages of these races. It is intended to comprehend the inhabitants of all Central America from the northern boundaries of New Spain to the Isthmus of Darien.*

* Hervas, ubi supra, p. 75.

1. The Mexican language,	spoken in the dioceses of Mexico, Mechoacan, New Galicia, New Biscay, Oaxaca, and Guatemala.
2. The Othomi and the Mazahui, which is a dialect of the Othomi,	in the northern parts of the same region.
3 & 4. The Tarasca and the Pirinda,	in the diocese of Mechoacan.
5. The Cora,	in Nayarit of New Galicia.
6. Maya,	Yucatan, Tabasco, and Merida.
7. Mixteca or Misteca,	dioceses of Puebla de los Angeles and Oaxaca.
8. Totonac,	Puebla de los Angeles.
9. Hiaqui,	missions on the Hiaqui in New Biscay.
10. Tarahumara,	missions of Tarahumara in New Biscay.
11. Tubar,	
12. Opata,	missions of Sonora and Pimeria in New Biscay.
13. Eudeve,	
14. Guaima,	Cinaloa, diocese of New Biscay.
15. Tepehuana,	Tepehuana in New Biscay.
16. Huasteca,	Huastecapan, a part of Mexico.
17. Pame,	
18. Matlazinga,	valley of Toluca in Mexico.
19. Mazahua,	
20. Cuitlateca,	in the diocese of Mexico.
21. Zapoteca,	in the diocese of Oaxaca.
22. Chinanteca,	
23. Popoluca,	
24. Chontal,	
25. Chochona,	
26. Mazateca,	
27. Mixe,	
28. Chiapaneca,	in the diocese of Guatemala.
29. Mame,	
30. Lacandona,	
31. Zoke,	
32. Celdala,	
33. Quiche,	
34. Cacahiquel,	
35. Utlateca,	

36. Pira,
37. Xumana,
38. Lana,
39. Zura,
40. Moqui,
41. Tigua,
42. Pecari,
43. Quera,*

} these eight languages or dialects are spoken in New Mexico, and were very little known, at least to Hervas.

It may be worth while to remark that, although the natives of Anahuac differed so much in languages, they generally considered themselves to be descended from the same race, and that they had even mythological stories, which accounted for the diversity of their languages. Acosta has preserved one of these tales, in which the Tarascas are asserted to have spoken originally the language of the Aztecas, and to have emigrated with that people from Aztlan; and Gomara relates a legend that was current among the Mexicans of a more extensive meaning. An old man named Iztac-Mixcoatl, and his wife Itancueitl, had six children, each of whom came to speak a different language, called Xolhua, Tenoch, Olmecatl, Xicallancatl, Mixtecatl, and Otomotl, the names appropriated to six of the principal nations of Anahuac.

Professor Vater collected much information respecting the languages of Mexico, and ascertained from a comparison of facts and circumstances mentioned in the narratives of the "Conquistadores" the extensive prevalence of one or two mother-tongues.† The subject has lately been revised in a careful and critical manner by one of the most distinguished of American philologers.‡ I shall collect from these writers the principal facts yet known with relation to the barbarous and the half-civilised nations of the Mexican table-land and the bordering countries.

Mr. Gallatin has given the names of fifteen languages now spoken in Mexico, but some of these belong to northern tribes who were uncivilised at the era of the Spanish conquest. This

* I have taken the liberty of altering in some instances Hervas's orthography, and substituting the Spanish for his Italian spelling.

† Vater, Mithridates, Bd. 3.

‡ Gallatin, American Ethnological Transactions, vol. i.

writer says that he is unable to ascertain the precise locality of two of the tribes now within the ancient empire of Mexico. These are the Mixe (distinct from the Mixteca) and the Popoloque. We have more correct notions of the geographical relations of nine out of this number. These are the Aztec or proper Mexican, spoken from Mexico as far south as the river Guatacualco; the Tlapanec, in Tlapa, east of Mexico; the Mixteca and Zapoteca in Oaxaca; the Tarasca, which was the proper idiom of the independent kingdom of Mechoacan; the Totonaque, reaching eastward to Vera Cruz; the Huasteca towards the north, along the shores of the gulf; the Matlazinca, spoken in the district so named, sixty miles south-west of Mexico; and the Othomi, belonging to barbarous tribes north of Mexico.

The Mexican, the Othomi, and the Huastecan languages appear to be quite distinct from each other, but the Huasteca, which is spoken in a country north of Mexico, is allied, as it appears, to the Maya, which is the language of Yucatan and other countries to the southward of the Mexican empire. It hence becomes probable that the whole intervening body of nations, including the Aztecs, intruded themselves into the Mexican territory, as their tradition imports, and dispossessed the former inhabitants of a part of their country. The Maya were the race thus dispossessed. They will be proved to have occupied an extensive region to the southward of Mexico.

Paragraph 2.—Extension of the Mayan Race.

The Mayan race appears to have been the most widely extended, as it will appear from the following observations.

The Maya was the prevalent language of Yucatan and a part of Tabasco, and it was through the medium of this language that the followers of Cortez carried on intercourse with the natives of Mexico.* It is, however, quite different from

* The only interpreters of Cortez were Jerome de Aguilar and Donna Marina. De Aguilar, who had been shipwrecked and a prisoner in Yucatan eight years, knew no other Indian language than the Maya. He translated from Spanish into Maya, and Donna Marina, who understood no other lan-

the Mexican. The natives of Yucatan who spoke the Maya were a civilised people, and were probably the builders of Palenque and the other cities the architectural remains of which have been explored by the enterprising and intelligent Mr. Stephens and other late travellers. Bernal Diaz and the other companions of Cortez found a populous and civilised tribe in Yucatan, who appear to have been independent of the sovereign, and spoke a language different from that of the Aztecs. Peter Martyr describes a city visited by the Spaniards in this country: "Hortis intersecantur domus, quæ sunt egregiè lapidibus et calce fabrefactæ, maximâ industriâ et architectorum arte." * In the same region the pyramidal buildings erected as temples to the gods excited the astonishment of the Spaniards. The people were clothed and appeared civilised.

We must trace the extent of this language and its cognates.

A short vocabulary brought from the neighbourhood of the ancient city of Palenque by Mr. Stephens, evidently proves that the idiom of that place is a dialect of the Maya. Of the language of Chiapa proper there is no vocabulary, but the names of some days of the month given in this dialect by Perez and Boturini indicate, as Mr. Gallatin observes, an affinity with the Maya.

The Poconchi or Pocoman was the mother-tongue from which were derived the chief dialects of Guatemala. Vater has compared vocabularies of the Poconchi and the Maya, and has detected numerous coincidences between them in words expressive of the most simple ideas. We may conclude these languages to have been allied to each other, and the race to which they belonged to have been spread over a wide region to the southward of Mexico. Mr. Gallatin has compared the Poconchi with two other languages, the Quiche and the Chorte, and the result proves that they were nearly allied. The Quiche is the idiom of the ancient kingdom so called on the Pacific, adjacent to Xoconosco and Oaxaca, the furthest

guage but her native Mexican and the language of Tabasco, where she had been a prisoner, translated the Maya words of De Aguilar, which she could not have done had not the languages of Yucatan and Tabasco been the same.

* Prescott's History of the Conquest, &c. vol. i. p. 253.

conquest of the Mexicans towards the south. It appears to have included a part of Guatemala. The Chorte is spoken at Zacapa. It appears to have been the language of Chiquemala, and extends eastward as far as the site of the ancient Copan. The numerals of the Quiche and the Poconchi are the same, and it may, as Mr. Gallatin says, be fairly inferred that the Mayan and Guatemalan languages belonged to the same stock.

It was a remarkable discovery, made, as I believe, by Vater, that the language of the Huastecas, who inhabit a country very remote from Yucatan, is allied to the Maya. The following short vocabulary, which I copy from a learned memoir by M. Ternaux-Compans, will afford a strong indication of the resemblance between the idiom of Yucatan and the Huasteca, and it will show the diversity of both from the Mexican.*

English.	*Mexican.*	*Guatemalan.*	*Yucatan.*	*Huastecan.*
Numerals.				
1	Ce	Hun	Hun	Hun
2	Omey	Cay	Ca	Tzab
3	Yey	Oxi	Ox	Ox
4	Naui	Cahi	Can	Tze
5	Macuilli	Voo	Tto	Bo
6	Chiquau	Vakaki	Uac	Acac
7	Chicome	Vaku	Uuc	Buc
8	Chicuey	Vakxaqui	Uaxac	Tluaxic
9	Chicunaui	Belehe	Bolou	Belleuh
10	Matlactli	Lahuh	Lahun	Lahu
20†	Cempoualli	Huvinak	Hunkal	Huminie
Sun	Tonatiuh	Cih	Kin	Aquicha
Moon	Meztli	Yg		Aytz
Star	Citlati	Ghumil		Ot
Fool	Yexitl	Akan	Oi	Akan
Eat, *v.*	Tlaqua	Quiva	Hanal	Capul
Drink	Atli	Quinagia	Ukul	Utzal
Man	Oquichtli	Atchi	Ninie	Inic

* M. Ternaux-Compans, Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, tom. iv.

† It is remarkable that the Mexican numerals after 5 are compounded of 5 and 1, 5 and 2, &c.

The Huastecan race, as we have already observed, inhabited a country to the northward of Mexico and Acolhuacan, which reached to the sea-coast. The Huastecas must have bordered on the Othomi. Huastecapan is separated by the whole of Acolhuacan and by the length of a great part of the Mexican empire from Yucatan and Guatemala; yet the languages of the last-mentioned countries are certainly connected with that of the Huastecas, and evince that an intimate relation formerly existed between these northern and southern tribes, who are now separated by many intervening provinces. This fact cannot be accounted for unless we allow that the whole Mexican race entered the central region of America after the settlement of the Mayan race, and when the whole country from Huastecapan to Yucatan was inhabited by that people and tribes allied to them.*

Paragraph 3.—Antiquities of Central America.

It is probable that many of the works of art discovered in different parts of Central America were erected by nations distinct from the Toltec and Aztec family, and this seems to have been the opinion of those writers who have made extensive researches in the country. Mr. Bradford has observed that, although the ruins of Palenque, Copan, Mitlan, and Uxmal, not only present many mutual analogies, but are closely related by numerous features to those of Mexico, they are more ancient and the production of a people not of Aztec origin.† When the Toltecs settled in Mexico, they found it inhabited by the Olmecas, a nation to whom the learned Siguenza ascribed the construction of the pyramids of Teotihuacan. In the south the Mixtecas and Zapotecas, who spoke original languages, and in whose territory the ruins of Mitlan are situated, appear also to have been ancient nations.

* I must not omit to observe that Mr. Gallatin with his accustomed caution declines to draw any inference from the affinity between the Mayan and Huastecan languages. He says that the style of monuments lately discovered near the Rio Panaco is more like that of the Mexican than of the ruins of Yucatese monuments.

† Bradford's American Antiquities.

The Toltecs passed into Guatemala, which was occupied by civilised nations speaking idioms unlike the Aztec, and there left traces of their invasion in some remains of their language. They do not seem, however, to have proceeded into Yucatan, for the Maya tongue, which pervades that peninsula and penetrates into Guatemala, contains no Aztec words. It appears, therefore, that even before the arrival of the Toltecs there were many civilised nations inhabiting Central America, and yet we are forcibly struck with the resemblance which existed between the arts, religion, and institutions of these original inhabitants and those of the northern invaders.* "The ancient Mayan calendar, like the Mexican, was divided into eighteen months of twenty days. It appears from the ruins of Uxmal that some of the astronomical symbols and four of the hieroglyphic signs of the days were identical with those of the Mexicans, and the day seems to have been divided into eight intervals. The Mayas had also their picture-writings called 'Amalthes,' which were written upon bark folded up into books like those of the Aztecs. Their mythological traditions were somewhat similar, and their great legislator Zamna, like Quetzalcoatl, appeared from the east. The greatest dissimilarity exhibited is in the style of architecture, but the Yucatese as well as the Aztecs erected pyramids corresponding in the cardinal points. In the Mayan delineations of the human countenance the contracted facial angle is as remarkable as in the paintings of the Aztecs. Waldeck has instituted a comparison between the ruins of Palenque and of Uxmal, and has pointed out many features of resemblance."†

The Chiapanese had hieroglyphic paintings, and the same method of computing time as the Mexicans; but the figures used by them in representing days and years were totally different. They also, according to their tradition, came from the north, under a patriarch Votan; and it is said that their painted histories contained a representation of an universal deluge. Northward of Chiapa, and to the south-east of Mexico, were two cultivated nations, the Zapotecas and Mix-

* Bradford's American Antiquities, p. 201, 202. † Ibid, p. 201.

tecas, who had peculiar languages and systems of mythology, but traditions similar to those of the Chiapanese. Ruins of splendid buildings are found in their country, with pillars of porphyry. The Tarascas, who inhabited the fertile and extensive country of Mechoacan, to the north-west of Mexico, were always independent of that kingdom. They had a sonorous and harmonious language, distinct from all others. Their country was very populous, and in arts and cultivation they were equal to the Mexicans, who could never subdue them, but their king submitted voluntarily to the Spaniards.

The aboriginal American nations of Yucatan and the Mayan countries have an ancient history, but it is less known than that of Mexico. The information we possess regarding it consists chiefly of the summary collected by Mr. Stephens, and of this Mr. Gallatin has given us an analysis. A fabulous history of the kingdom of Quiche, written by a descendant of the sovereigns, was preserved by Fuentes. This was apparently the only state of considerable power with the exception of Copan. An Indian manuscript obtained by Mr. Stephens from Don J. P. Perez contains the series of traditions relating to the history of Yucatan. Mr. Gallatin thinks that the dates of remote events are wholly uncertain, but that the relation of events themselves is worthy of credit. It seems that the Yucatese gave the name of Talapan to the country whence they migrated into Yucatan. They first settled themselves at Bacalar, on the eastern coast of Yucatan, and afterwards at Chichen Itza. The next fact mentioned is the migration to Champoton, where the Ytzaes or "holy men" of the nation had houses. Whether these holy men came from abroad and brought with them their religious rites and their calendar does not, as Mr. Gallatin observes, appear. Champoton is said to have been abandoned in the beginning of the twelfth century, and in the middle of that century the principal places of the Yucatese were Uxmal, Chichen, and Mayapan, the last being the seat of a central government during two centuries. Civil wars ensued about the tenth year of the eighth Ajan in the Yucatese calandar, viz. A. D. 1402; and the central government was destroyed about sixty years prior to the Spanish conquest, that is, before the end of the

eleventh Ajan, corresponding with A. D. 1536. From that time the country was divided into petty states. Human sacrifices were practised, but the customs of the Yucatese seem to have been less sanguinary than those of the Mexicans.

The style of sculpture and of ornamental architecture of the edifices of Mitlan in Oaxaca, of Palenque, and of Yucatan appears to Mr. Gallatin superior to that of the Mexican monuments. The preservation of more numerous remains in Yucatan than in Mexico may, however, be accounted for from the fact that in Mexico the Spaniards settled on the sites of Mexican cities. In Yucatan it was otherwise. The number of ruined towns there discovered by Mr. Stephens is extraordinary. It proves that the country was the seat of a great and industrious, though perhaps, as the writer above cited observes, an enslaved population. Splendid temples and palaces attest the power of the priests and nobles, while as usual no trace remains of the huts in which dwelt the mass of the nation.*

SECTION IV. — *Of the System of Numeration prevalent among the Mexican Nations considered as an Ethnological Distinction.*

Mr. Gallatin, in his work on the history of the semi-civilised nations of America, has brought into notice one remarkable trait which may become a characteristic of some importance in the distribution of races or families, and in this point of view the assistance it affords is supplementary to that which is furnished by the diversities of languages.

It is a very remarkable fact that the nations inhabiting the high table-lands of Central America, including not only those allied to the Aztec stock, but the Mayan and some other races, present a remarkable exception to the otherwise almost universal prevalence of decimal numeration. This habit of counting by tens is generally attributed, and perhaps rightly, to the aid which untaught people obtained from their fingers. In many languages the numbers are arranged

* Gallatin, Ethnolog. Trans. p. 174.

by fives: some repeat and compound the terms for numbers after the first five up to ten. Others obtained the second five numbers from some foreign nation, having never advanced by themselves beyond the first five: the lowest races in the scale of intellect thus measured scarcely go beyond two or three,—a thing, by the way, frequently noticed in idiots or persons nearly idiotic. The first five is expressed by a word that means "the hand" in several languages. Many of the ancient American races counted by tens like the inhabitants of Asia, but the fact now to be observed is that a certain groupe of nations, and principally the nations of the high central table-land, including both the aboriginal Mayan as well as the immigrant Tolteco-Aztec division, are found to have adopted a method of counting, not properly by tens, but by twenties. The vigintesimal enumeration seems to supply a link between many nations thus brought into a particular groupe, who in fact resemble each other strikingly in many other respects, and who must apparently have been nearly associated from very remote times, though it has not yet been proved by an examination of their languages, apparently very diverse, that they are more nearly connected together than with the other families of nations in America.

Mr. Gallatin informs us that the Indian tribes so termed within the territory claimed by the United States, who are for the most part the same races with those in the nominal dominion of Great Britain, use a decimal arithmetic, though there is little regularity in the formation of terms expressive of the higher numbers, which they hardly ever want. The arithmetic of the most celebrated nations of South America, the Peruvians and Araucanians, is also purely decimal. Traces are found in several of the American languages, showing that certain nations originally counted by fives, as for example, the Algonquin and the Choktah. The primitive mode of counting by the fingers is traced in the idiom of the Esquimaux of Hudson's Bay; the names of the numbers 8, 9, and 10, mean respectively the middle, the fourth, and the little finger.

The ancient method of counting by fives is also apparent in the Mexican, the Othomi, and the Carib languages.

The characteristic of the groupe of nations now under consideration is, as I have observed above, that they count by twenties instead of by tens.

They have, as Mr. Gallatin assures us, a primitive or uncompounded name for "twenty," and in the same manner in which we count from ten upwards by the multiples and powers of ten, so they count by the multiples and powers of twenty. As we have primitive or uncompounded names for the second and third powers of ten, to which the Greeks added one for the fourth power (*μυριοι*), so the American nations have primitive names for the second and third powers of twenty, namely, for 400 and 8000. At the same time they have no primitive or uncompounded terms for the powers of ten. They express 100 by a term which means "5 times 20," and 1000 by a word which means "twice 400, plus 10 times 20." Mr. Gallatin has given a table exhibiting a view of the system of numeration in all the languages of the semi-civilised nations of Mexico and Central America of which he could obtain the numerals. These are only the Mexican, the Othomi, the Huasteca, the Maya, and the Quiche. All these, which only are known, counted by twenties. The numerals of three other American languages are added to the table. From this table it appears that the numerals from one to nineteen are the same in the Maya, the Quiche, and the Huasteca, except that the Maya has an uncompounded word *(bulue)* for eleven. In both the Quiche and the Huasteca *ainac* or *inec*, which means 'man,' is the word for twenty.*

The word twenty in Mexican means 'account.' In the Muysca it is *que*, 'a house;' in the Carib of Essequebo it is *wineet-anee*, 'a hand,' and *carena*, 'a person.'

We may here observe that the habit of counting by twenties is no proof that a merely decimal method may not have existed among these nations in preceding times. Many phenomena in the European idioms show that the decimal counting is liable to pass into a vigintesimal, and a reverse change seems to have taken place in other languages. The Welsh,

* In allusion, perhaps, to the collective number of a man's fingers and toes.

for example, though they have the term for twenty* common to all Indo-European nations variously modified, do not count up to twenty by two tens, as most other nations do, but stop at fifteen, or *pymp-theg*, compounded of *pump*, five, and *tēg*, ten, and thus go on, fifteen and one, fifteen and two, &c. up to twenty, after which they complete the hundred by vigintesimal counting.† In English and all other languages the counting by scores is not an unfrequent practice. It seems, therefore, not a mark of original distinctness, but when observed in so systematic a form as among the American nations lately alluded to, it certainly implies a very ancient and intimate association of these tribes, to the exclusion of other races among whom the same trait is not found. It hence becomes of some historical value, and it is well worth while to inquire among what nations the vigintesimal numeration may be traced. This information Mr. Gallatin has supplied. He says that the Tarahumaras, an uncivilised tribe about one hundred and fifty miles north-west of Mexico, have a decimal numeration. The same observation applies to the Choktahs and the Caddos, the tribes in the United States nearest to Texas. At the time when Mr. Gallatin wrote his last work, no vocabularies had been obtained of the Indians of Texas, or of those of the Red River or the Arkansas, or of New Mexico, or of any of the numerous tribes between the Rio Norte and the Rio Colorado of California.

In South America the Muyscas in the upper table-land of New Granada counted by twenties, as it appears from their numerals obtained by Humboldt. The Caribs also count by twenties. Biet in his travels to Cayenne says that they (the Galibes) for five show a hand, for ten the two hands, for twenty the hands and feet.

It would seem probable that the Esquimaux are among the

* This word, *viginti*, Εικοντι, &c. appears to be originally two tens, or *twey-tegan*, as many philologers have observed.

† Humboldt has shewn that the Euskarian or Iberian displays traces of the vigintesimal numeration. This fact is the more curious from the resemblance in grammatical structure between the American nations and the Iberians.

nations who count by twenties.* Crantz says that their proper numeral is five; they repeat so far counting on their fingers, and go on from ten to twenty by their toes. Sometimes, he adds, "for twenty they say 'a man,' and for a hundred 'five men.'"†

Section V.—*Origin of the Science of the ancient Mexicans, their Astronomy, their Calendar.*

We must now return to the Mexican race, of whose history, though our absolute knowledge is scanty, we have much more information than of that of other nations in the New World.

We have taken a brief survey of the archæology of the Mexicans, or of their pictured rather than written records, and of their traditionary history; but the ethnography of the race would be very imperfect without some attempt to form an idea of their science and some conjecture as to its origin.

Writers on Mexican history have devoted much labour to the investigation of the ancient Mexican astronomy in the remains of hieroglyphical paintings and sculpture, pourtraying the methods used by them in the computation of time, and their observations on the motions of the heavenly bodies. The most remarkable of these remains is a hieroglyphical calendar sculptured on stone, which was long concealed under the earth in the city of Mexico. Sahagun, Boturini, Gemelli, and Clavigero have laboured in this field, but they have been all surpassed by the more successful investigations of De Gama, the celebrated Mexican astronomer, whose work has been the principal guide to all late writers on the subject. De Gama's conclusions have been adopted by M. de Humboldt and Mr. Prescott, and we are indebted to Mr. Gallatin for an analysis of the principal contents of his work and the results of the author's investigations.

It was observed by M. de Humboldt that the Mexicans,

* This, as it will be seen, is not the only trace of relation between the Mexicans and the Esquimaux.

† Ethnographical Transactions, p. 54.

the Japanese, and the people of Tibet, and several other nations of Central Asia have followed the same system in the division of the great cycles and in the denomination of the years that compose them. They differ, however, greatly in the subdivision of these periods. "Instead of the cycles of sixty years, of years divided into twelve months, and small periods of seven days used among the nations of Asia, we find among the Mexicans cycles of fifty-two years, years of eighteen months, months of twenty days, half decades and half lunations of thirteen days. The system of periodical series, the corresponding terms of which served to denote the dates of the days and the years, is the same in both continents." "A great many of the signs that compose the series in the Mexican calendar are borrowed," says M. de Humboldt, "from the zodiac of the nations of Thibet and Tartary, but neither their number nor the order in which they follow each other are those observed in Asia." The division of the year into eighteen months used by the Mexicans is peculiar to them. "I am induced, however, to think," says the same writer, "that the division into eighteen months of twenty days is posterior to another into twelve months of thirty days; for the method of making signs of a zodiac preside over each day, and of determining the number of months by the return of the periodical series, must have been adopted later than the more obvious idea of dividing the year according to the number of lunations it contains." "The Mexicans in their method of intercalation followed the system of the ancient Persians: they retained the vague year till the supplementary hours formed a half lunation, and they intercalated thirteen days in every *ligature* or cycle of fifty-two years." They had a notion that the end of the world should take place at the termination of one of these cycles of fifty-two years. This belief was no doubt connected with the Toltec tradition of four ages and four periodical catastrophes which the world had incurred. Hence the secular festival celebrated by a sacrifice at the end of the cycle described by the historians of the conquest, when the priests took the dresses of the gods and went in solemn procession to the mountains of Huixachtecatl. It was called the march of the gods, who were represented as having aban-

doned Mexico. "This secular festival," says M. de Humboldt, "this apprehension of seeing the fifth sun extinguished at the epoch of the solstice, presents a near analogy between Mexico and Egypt. Achilles Tatius in the commentary on Aratus says that 'when the Egyptians saw the sun descending towards Capricorn, they sorrowed from the apprehension that it was about to leave the sky for ever. This festival coincided with the festival of Isis; but when the days grew longer, they robed themselves in white and crowned themselves with flowers.' On reading this passage we seem to peruse what Gomara and Torquemada relate respecting the festival of the Aztecs."

M. de Humboldt, notwithstanding the strong opinion above expressed, has observed that it is extremely difficult to decide, when we compare the relics of astronomy mixed with superstitious representations, among nations long separated, what is the result of early intercourse, and what is only analogous from a resemblance in the workings of the human mind in remote countries and among nations long separated; and he seems to have felt this difficulty in comparing the Mexican astronomy with that of the Asiatic nations. Nor has this problem been solved by late researches. Even Mr. Gallatin leaves it still doubtful whether there is any thing in the astronomy of the Mexicans that is of Asiatic origin. The diversities are not less striking than the points of resemblance or rather of analogy. I abstract from his work the following remarks.

"Almost all the nations of the world appear, in their first attempts to compute time, to have resorted to lunar months, which they afterwards adjusted in various ways in order to make them correspond with the solar year. In America the Peruvians, the Chilians, and the Muyscas proceeded in this method. It was otherwise with the Mexicans and the whole groupe of nations who cultivated astronomical science in Central America. Both classes of nations, and indeed all the nations of the New World, are well known to have been ignorant of the short period of seven days, or the week, so universally adopted in Europe and Asia.

"The civilised nations of Central America, not only the

Mexicans, but the nations of Yucatan, had two distinct modes of counting time. The first and vulgar method was by a period of twenty days. This was evidently derived from their habit of vigintesimal numeration, and not from any celestial phenomenon. An additional proof of this is the fact that, as the Mexicans counted by twenties, having first counted by fives and possessing distinct uncompounded names and symbols for the numerals five, ten, fifteen, and twenty, so they divided their period of twenty days into four portions, or four small periods of five days.

"The other computation of time was by a period of thirteen days, designated as the account of the moon, and said to have been derived from the number of days during which in each lunation the moon appears above the horizon for the greater part of the night. It was pretended that the moon was awake at those times and asleep during the rest of the lunation."

The reckoning by periods of twenty days was called the "account of the sun," and that by thirteen the "account of the moon." The former could have no real connection with the sun, and this account of the whole matter is unsatisfactory.

It appears, however, that at a remote period, and, as Mr. Gallatin supposes, before they had any notion of the length of the year, the Mexicans combined these two series of thirteen and twenty in order to distinguish the days in the period formed by the combination, viz. $13 \times 20 = 260$. When at a later time they discovered by observation the length of the solar year, they continued the combination of the same numbers and symbols of numbers as far as the end of their year. The first computation appears to have been 360 days, subsequently 365, and an intercalation of thirteen days was introduced at the end of every period of fifty-two years to rectify the calendar.

Mr. Gallatin seems to have been determined to prefer the opinion that the Mexican astronomy was entirely of indigenous origin, and not derived from Asia, principally by two considerations.

1. In the first place the observations recorded on the calendar stone above mentioned, marking two dates of the

passage of the sun by the zenith of Mexico, must have been made at Mexico itself or in its vicinity. They appear, therefore, to be of American origin. They could not have been made by any nation living north of the tropic. Neither the Aztecs nor the Toltecs, if they came from northern parts of Asia, could have brought with them even a notice of this celestial phenomenon.

2. If we advert to the supposition that emigrants from Asia in later times than the population of America introduced the knowledge of astronomy among the Mexicans, it may be asked, why did not those Asiatics bring also an alphabet, the art of working iron, mills, wheelbarrows, and a multitude of other common arts which remained unknown to the Mexicans, and at least the seeds of rice, millet, wheat, or of some other grain cultivated in the country whence they came. If they came from one where agriculture was unknown, it is improbable that they were advanced in science.

It must on the whole be allowed to be by far the most probable conclusion, nay, almost certain, that the science of the Mexicans was their own acquirement, and that they owed it not to foreigners.

SECTION VI.—*Mexican Traditions respecting a Deluge and repeated Destructions of the World.*

We have seen that the most careful investigations of the Mexican science and Mexican civilisation lead to the inference that the higher mental culture existing previously to their conquest among the nations of Central America was of indigenous origin, and was not communicated to those nations from the Old Continent. We have now to advert to a series of fictions connecting the Mexican astronomy with legendary history, which has been thought to indicate something in common in the ancient traditions of the American and Asiatic nations.

The most striking point of correspondence which has yet been traced between the fictions of the Mexicans and the

legends of the Asiatic nations, is the fable of repeated destructions and renovations of the world, connected in the mythologies of both continents with the final and initial periods of astronomical cycles. " This fiction," says M. de Humboldt, " which connects the return of the great cycles with the idea of the renewal of matter, deemed indestructible, and which attributes to space what seems only to belong to time, goes back to the highest antiquity. The sacred books of the Hindoos, especially the Bhagavata Purana, speak of the four ages and of pralayas or cataclysms, which at different epochs have destroyed the human race. A tradition of five ages analogous to that of the Mexicans is found on the elevated plain of Thibet." Nothing is more evident than the analogy between the Indian tradition of Yugas and Kalpas, the cycles of the ancient Etruscans, and that series of ages " which *Hesiod* characterises under the emblem of *four metals*."

" The nations of Colhua or Mexico," says Gomara, who wrote about the year 1550, " declare, interpreting their hieroglyphic paintings, that previously to the sun which now enlightens them four had successively been extinguished. These four suns belong to as many ages, at the terminations of which our species has been successively annihilated by inundations, by earthquakes, by a general conflagration, and by the effect of destroying tempests. After the destruction of the fourth sun the world was plunged in darkness during twenty-five years. Amid this profound obscurity, ten years before the appearance of the fifth sun, the gods for the fifth time created a man and a woman. The day on which the last sun appeared bore the sign *tochtli*, a rabbit, and the Mexicans reckon 850 years from that era to 1552. Their annals go back to this period. They had historical paintings referring even to the four preceding ages, but assert that these paintings were destroyed because at every period all things must be renewed. According to Torquemada this fable of the revolutions of time and the regeneration of nations is of Toltec origin: it is a national tradition common to that groupe of nations whom we know under the names of Toltecas, Chichimecas, Acolhuas, Nahuatlacas, Tlascaltecas,

and Aztecas, and who, speaking the same language, have been flowing from north to south since the middle of the sixth century of our era."

M. de Humboldt has observed that Gomara, Clavigero, and the greater number of the Spanish authors have mistaken the order in which these successive events are recorded in the Mexican paintings, forgetting that the Mexicans placed their hieroglyphics from right to left, beginning at the bottom of the page. M. de Humboldt adds that the diversity exists only in the order of events, for the circumstances are related in the same manner by Gomara, Pedro de los Rios, Ixtlilxochitl, and others.

The first cycle, in duration $13 \times 400 + 6 = 5206$ years, corresponding with the Age of Justice, the Satya Yug of the Hindoos, was in the Aztec tradition Tlaltonatiuh, or the Age of the Earth, also the Age of Giants, Qzocuilliexeque. The traditions of many nations begin with giants or Titans. The Olmecas and the Xicalancas, two nations who preceded the Toltecs, and who boasted of high antiquity, pretended to have found them on arriving at the plain of Tlascala.* The fiction of Titans and giants alludes, according to the theory of Heyne, to the conflict between the principle of order in the elements of nature, with the chaotic state of the universe; but the notion of giants on the plain of Tlascala is illustrated by the discovery of the remains of elephants and mastodonts, which the Olmecas, as other nations have done, mistook for the bones of giants. The human race of the first age was destroyed by famine.

The second cycle was the Age of Fire, or Tletonatiuh; the god of fire descended on earth. Birds alone escaped the conflagration, except one man and one woman, who saved themselves in the recesses of a cavern.

The third cycle was Ehecatonatiuh, or the Age of Wind or Air, the cycle of tempests, which two men alone survived.

The fourth cycle was the Age of Water, Atonatiuh, the duration of which is 4008 years. A great inundation destroyed

* Torquemada, Monarquia de las Indias, vol. i. Humboldt on the epochas of nature according to the Aztec mythology.

mankind, and this is the last of the catastrophes which the world has undergone. Men were transformed into fishes except one man and woman, who saved themselves on the trunk of an ahahuète, or *cupressus disticha*. The drawing in the manuscript represents the goddess of water descending towards the earth. Coxcox, the Noah of the Mexicans, and his wife Xochiquetzatl, are seated on the trunk of a tree covered with leaves and floating amidst the waters.

In another part of the same work (' Vues des Cordillères '), in a survey of the hieroglyphical history of the Aztecas previous to the foundation of the city of Mexico, M. de Humboldt returns to the tradition of Coxcox and his flood. He says: " Of the different nations that inhabit Mexico the following had paintings representing the deluge of Coxcox, viz. the Aztecas, the Mixtecas, the Zapotecas, the Tlascaltecs, and the Mechoacanians. The Noah, Xisuthrus, or Menu of these nations, is termed Coxcox, Teo-Cipactli, or Tezpi. He saved himself with his wife Xochiquetzatl in a bark, or, according to other traditions, on a raft. The painting represents Coxcox in the midst of the water waiting for a bark. The mountain, the summit of which rises above the waters, is the peak of Colhuacan, the Ararat of the Mexicans. At the foot of the mountain are the heads of Coxcox and his wife. The latter is known by two tresses in the form of horns, denoting the female sex. The men born after the deluge are dumb. The dove from the top of a tree distributes among them tongues represented under the form of small commas. The people of Mechoacan preserved a tradition that Coxcox, whom they called Tezpi, embarked in a spacious ' acalli ' with his wife, his children, several animals, and grain. When the great spirit Tezcatlipoca ordered the waters to withdraw, Tezpi sent out from his bark a vulture, the Zopilote, or vultur aura. This bird did not return on account of the carcases with which the earth was strewed. Tezpi sent out other birds, one of which, the humming-bird, alone returned, holding in its beak a branch covered with leaves. Tezpi, seeing that fresh verdure covered the soil, quitted his bark near the mountain of Colhuacan."

The four ages mentioned in the Mexican tradition, according

to the account preferred by Humboldt, contain collectively 18,028 years, which, as he observes, is 6000 years more than the Persian ages in the Zendavesta. The four destructions of Mexican mythology are brought about by the four elements, earth becoming unproductive, fire, air, and water. After each destruction mankind were regenerated. According to the Egyptians cataclysms alternate with conflagrations. The five ages of the Mexicans correspond, says Humboldt, with the system of the people of Tibet, according to which the present is the fifth age. It differs from that of the Greeks and Hindoos, who admit only four. It is interesting, as M. de Humboldt concludes, to see the same traditions spread from Etruria and Latium to Tibet, and thence to the ridge of the Mexican Cordilleras.

Mr. Prescott has remarked that there is much discordance between different writers on Mexican antiquities as to the number and duration of cyclical revolutions of nature.* A manuscript of Don F. de Alva Ixtlilxochitl states only three ages of the world to have preceded that which is now present, and it allows but 4,394 years for the whole time as yet elapsed. A late writer, on whose opinion I think we may safely rely, prefers a still different account, which represents the third age as still in progress, and he makes the order of their succession the reverse of that which Humboldt seems to have considered the most correct. According to this account the first of the four cycles was named Atonatiuh or the Sun of Water. At this period the world, which had been inhabited by giants, was destroyed by an universal deluge. A single man, Coxcox or Teocipactli, escaped in a bark with his wife Xochiquetzal. They landed on the mountain of Colhuacan, where they had a numerous progeny, who were all mute till they were taught by a dove to speak. Their languages, however, were so different that they could not understand one another. The Tlascaltecas, on the other hand, believed that men who escaped the deluge had been transmuted into monkeys, but that they recovered by degrees their reason and speech.

* History of the Conquest of Mexico.

The second period was Ehecatonatiuh, or the Sun of Air, which had been terminated by tremendous hurricanes of wind. The human race had likewise perished, and it was reproduced by the following means :—

Ometeuctli or Omeci'ticatl, a god and goddess, dwelt in a town situated in the twelfth heaven. The goddess brought forth a flint, which, thrown down to earth, was broken to pieces: thence issued sixteen thousand heroes. Of these, one named Xolotl, wishing to reproduce man, was ordered to penetrate to the abode of Mictlanteuchtli or the god of hell, and to obtain the bones of some of the men destroyed in the flood. These having been procured were watered by the blood of the heroes from different parts of the body: thence came the race of men. Xolotl put them to death and then destroyed himself. This was the second age. The third, according to this relation, was Tlaltonatiuh or the Sun or Age of Earth: it was destined to cease by terrible earthquakes. They believed that this calamity was destined to happen at the close of one of their ages of fifty-two years. In dread of it they celebrated a solemn festival at the renewal of the cycle, when all the priests went in the costume belonging to their respective gods to the top of a high mountain near Mexico. There with the sacrifice of a human victim they sought to propitiate the gods and avert for another period of fifty-two years the destined calamity of the universe. This festival was celebrated for the last time in the seventh year of Montezuma's reign, A. D. 1517. To the third age of the world a fourth, which was that of Tletonatiuh, or the Sun of Fire, was destined to succeed, at the conclusion of which the world was to be destroyed by a general conflagration.*

The final conclusion of Mr. Gallatin, after a careful investigation of these singular traditions, seems to be that they originated in a real historical recollection of an universal deluge, which overwhelmed all mankind in early ages of the world.

* Bradford's American Antiquities. M. Ternaux-Compans, Nouvelles Annales des Voyages.

SECTION VII.—*Mythology of the Aztecas and other Nations of Mexico.*

It seems to be the opinion of those writers who have investigated the Mexican history that a milder form of idolatrous worship prevailed in Central America in earlier times than that cruel and sanguinary superstition the rites of which appeared so appalling to the eyes of the "Conquistadores." The former is ascribed to the reign of the older Toltecas; the latter is supposed to have owed its origin to the barbarity of the Aztecas.

Clavigero assures us that the Mexicans had some idea, though a very superficial one, of a Supreme Being, whom they termed simply Teotl or God. They supposed him to be invisible. They also called him Ipalnemoani, that is, "He by whom we live." The knowledge and worship of this supreme being was obscured and in a manner lost in the crowd of inferior deities invented by their superstition.

The same writer says that the Mexicans also believed in the existence of a malignant spirit, who appeared to terrify and injure men: they termed him Tlacatecolotl or "Rational Owl."

The gods of the Mexicans, to whom they paid worship in temples and represented by images of fantastic shapes and decorated with costly ornaments, were very numerous. They had thirteen principal gods, and more than two hundred inferior ones, to each of whom some special festival was appointed.

The greatest divinity who, according to Clavigero, was second to the preceding, was Tezcatlipoca, whose name means the "Shining Mirror." He was the god of providence, the soul of the world, the creator of heaven and earth, and master of all things. He punished the wicked with diseases and various evils, and rewarded the good.

Tonatricli and Meztli were the sun and moon deified by the Mexicans. They were not supposed to be eternal, but to have begun to exist, at least in this present world, since the origin of the human race.

Cihuacohuatl, or "Woman Serpent," was the first woman who had children, and she always had twins.

Quetzalcoatl, or "Green-feathered Serpent," was the god of the air. He was said to have been once a high priest of Tula, was figured as tall, of fair complexion, large eyes, long thick beard. His reign on earth had been a golden age: he taught men arts, and united the attributes of Saturn and Mercury. Banished from the earth by Tezcatlipoca, he first established his worship at Cholula, and then, on his way to the fabulous region of Tlapallan, vanished suddenly. He was the favourite god of the old Toltecas, to whom Tula and Cholula belonged.

Huitzilopochtli or Mexitli was the god of war and the favourite divinity of the Aztecs. His stature was of gigantic form, his forehead blue, his face covered with a mask of gold, and his body was encircled by a huge golden snake. His worship was celebrated by the most sanguinary rites.

The above-mentioned were the most conspicuous among the multitudinous gods of the Mexicans. As many mythological stories are told of them as those in Ovid's Metamorphoses. It seems that in general the same gods were worshipped by nearly all the nations of Mexico, whether of the foreign Tolteco-Aztec race or of the older inhabitants of Anahuac,—a circumstance which strongly favours the opinion that the arts and civilisation of the immigrant tribes were adopted from the conquered nations. In different states different deities became the favourite objects of regard, according to the disposition of the people. Thus the god of war was celebrated in Mexico, which appears to have been named after him; in Cholula, Quetzalcoatl; Centeotl, the Mexican Ceres, was chiefly adored by the Totonacs; and Mixcoatl, or the goddess of hunting, by the Othomi, who, living among the mountains, were devoted to the chase. The Tlascalans, the constant enemies of the Mexicans, as well as the people of Tescuco, who were their allies and friends, worshipped the same divinities as the Aztecas themselves.*

* Clavigero, vol. i. p. 259.

Attempts have been made to give an historical meaning to the Mexican mythology, and to connect it with events of history. The legend of Quetzalcoatl in particular is supposed to have an historical foundation. An ancient sage, to whom this name belonged, was a high priest of Tollan, a city of the old Toltecas. Some suppose that he was priest of the god whose name he bore, others that the god was only a deification of the priest. His story is curious, and its origin very obscure. He has been compared to Buddha or Somonacodom. He was painted as a venerable sage with a long flowing beard, of tall stature, large eyes, and fair complexion. The period of his life was a Saturnian or golden age: he taught men a variety of arts. Huemac was at this time the Toltec king. The god Tezcatlipoca, jealous of his prosperity, resolved to ruin him by the removal of Quetzalcoatl. This he effected by giving him a drink which inspired him with the desire to visit Huehue-Tlapallan, the ancient fatherland of the Toltecs and their fabulous paradise. Quetzalcoatl set out, but before he departed he destroyed his palace of silver and gold, changed his fruit-trees into sterile shrubs, and ordered all the singing birds to accompany him and amuse him on his route. At first he resorted to Cholula, and there taking up his temporary abode, he taught the people arts, metallurgy, and the calendar, and the rites of a mild religion; and Cholula remained the principal seat of culture in Mexico till the foundation of the Aztec empire. After ruling twenty years in Cholula, Quetzalcoatl departed with his disciples; but when he reached the province of Coatzocalco, "the hiding place of the serpent," he sent them back to announce his future return,—a tradition which was handed down till the arrival of Cortez, whose descent on the Mexican coast was supposed to be the fulfilment of the prophecy. His subsequent fate is variously reported. Some thought that he died on the sea-shore; others that he was the Cuculcan who went to Yucatan; some that twisted serpents formed for him a raft and transported him to the fabulous Tlapallan. A lively and interesting writer from whom I have collected this account supposes the true foundation of this legend to be the fact that a prince of Tula, escaping from the de-

struction of the older Toltec empire, returned to Cholula and there founded a sacerdotal principality. Nothing can be more probable than this supposition. Tezcatlipoca was the destroyer: his story is told in a similar style of fiction. By the aid of magic he overcame the Toltecs: some say that he descended from heaven by a cord of spiders' webs, and taking the form of a handsome youth presented himself to the daughter of king Huemac under the guise of a merchant, selling pods of pepper. He seduced the princess and brought about the ruin of the state.

Such are the stories which Sahagun and Torquemada collected among the lately conquered inhabitants of Tlascala and Tenochtitlan. They prove that the mind of the ancient American race was as prone to mythological fiction, to romance, and to allegorise or adorn the events of history as that of the Hindoos or the Greeks of the Old World. Even Huitzilopochtli or Mexitli, the horrible demon of slaughter and carnage, seems to have been an historical person. Huitzitoc was the name of the chieftain who led the armies of the Aztecas in the last migration from Chicomoztoc, or the Seven Caverns, into the plain of Anahuac. Under his guidance the Aztecs conquered, and after his death the priests reported that he appeared seated at the left hand of their god Tezcatlipoca. Hence his name, from Huitzitoc and Opochtli meaning "at the left hand." Such is the legend related by Veytia, whose testimony in this instance is preferred by M. Ternaux-Compans to that of Sahagun and Torquemada.

The image of Huitzilopochtli was a gigantic idol seated on a quadrangular blue stone, from each corner of which issued a serpent. His forehead also was blue. The girdle of this idol was a great golden serpent, and over his buckle were a standard of gold and four arrows said to have been thrown from heaven. Three times a year a great festival was celebrated with sanguinary rites in honour of Huitzilopochtli, when the nobles of Mexico danced round his image. So great was the number of human victims slaughtered before his image, that, according to the testimony of Gomara and Herrera, 130,000 human skulls were found within the precincts of his temple. Many a successful warrior has de-

stroyed a greater number of human beings in battle-fields, but few have had so many of their fellow-creatures and brethren sacrificed to their manes.

The Mexican nations believed in the immortality of the soul and in the metempsychosis, and connected with this almost universal persuasion of the human race many mythological stories. The souls of men who died in battle, and those of women who died in labour, went, according to them, to a place of delight in the temple of the sun. There they spent their time in festive rejoicings with music and dancing, and attended the sun in his path to the meridian. After four years they went to animate clouds and birds of beautiful feather and sweet song, which descend occasionally on earth to suck the flowers. According to the Tlascalans, the souls of brave and great men passed from human shapes to inhabit the bodies of beautiful birds and noble quadrupeds, while inferior persons became weasels, beetles, and meaner animals. The souls of children, and of those who died by accidents or disease, went to a different place called Tlalocan, the cool and delightful residence of the god of water. Those who suffered any other kind of death went to Meitlan, or hell, supposed to be in the centre of the earth, where they dwelt in utter darkness.* It does not appear clear that this last was a place of punishment for guilt, or that the idea of moral retribution was clearly conceived by the devotees of this horrible superstition.

* Clavigero. M. Ternaux-Compans, loc. cit.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE ESQUIMAUX.

SECTION I.— *General Survey.*

THE Esquimaux are well-known to be a race of people who inhabit the sea-coast of the extreme north of America. They live chiefly on fish, seals, and other products of the sea; and though they hunt during their short summer, are seldom found further than a hundred miles from the coast. Their country is a narrow belt along the sea-shore, reaching, as it would appear, across the whole breadth of the American continent. Traced from the Rocky Mountain chain, the northern extremity of which has been discovered to form a great boundary between the eastern and western tribes of this race, they extend on one side into Asia, and on the other as far as Greenland. The western tribes differ considerably from the eastern in language, and until a recent period they were cut off from all communication with each other, and in their first intercourse they understood each other with difficulty. The people of each division are, moreover, subdivided into separate hordes having peculiar dialects.

The name by which this race of people are designated by Europeans is said by Charlevoix to be derived from the language of the Abenaqui, a tribe of Algonquins in Canada, who border upon them and call them "Esquimantsic," which means "Eaters of raw fish." The Esquimaux of Labrador, according to the Moravian missionaries, call themselves "Karalit;" but whether this is a national appellative of the whole race, or belongs to a particular tribe, we are not informed.

The western Esquimaux resort annually, according to Captain Franklin, to the district bordering on the northern extremity of the Rocky or Stony Mountains, about 140° of west longitude, for the purpose of bartering with the eastern tribes iron tools and other articles of Russian manufacture for seal-skins, oil, and furs.

The nearest neighbours to the southward of the western Esquimaux are the tribe of Loucheux belonging to the race of Athapascans, who will be described in the next chapter. The different tribes belonging to the great Algonquin family border on the eastern Esquimaux in Canada. These two nations wage perpetual hostilities, and are said to regard each other as natural enemies.

Section II.— *Of the Eastern Esquimaux.*

Mr. Gallatin distinguishes three dialects, marking so many subdivisions of the race, in the eastern department of the Esquimaux. These are as follows.

1. The language of the Esquimaux of Hudson's Bay, reaching westward beyond Mackenzie's River.

2. The language of Greenland, well-known by Egede's grammar and dictionary, and the translation of the Gospels made by the Moravian missionaries. It must be observed that the inhabitants of the western coast of Greenland have no intercourse with those of the eastern coast, lately discovered. These last may have a different dialect.

3. The language of the Labrador Esquimaux, probably allied to that of Hudson's Straits. This dialect differs so much from that of Greenland, that the Moravian missionaries found it necessary to make a new translation of the Gospels for the use of the natives of Labrador, that previously made for the Greenlanders not being sufficiently understood by the former people.

Mr. Gallatin conjectures that Iceland once contained a tribe of the Esquimaux stock. He says: "I am informed by Mr. Thorkelson, a learned native of Iceland and librarian of the Royal Library of Copenhagen, that it appeared by

ancient manuscript chronicles of Iceland that the island was found already inhabited by a barbarous race, which was exterminated by the invaders." From some obscure notices in old ecclesiastical writers, we might rather conclude that they were the descendants of some earlier refugees from Ireland or Britain, who have been supposed to have left vestiges of Christianity in Iceland.*

" Greenland was discovered by the Norwegians or Icelanders about a hundred years later than Iceland. Two colonies were planted there on the eastern and western coast, with which an intercourse was continued both from Iceland and Norway till the fifteenth century, when it ceased. Unsuccessful attempts were made to renew it, and the eastern coast was found inaccessible from the enormous accumulation of ice on its shores. It was only in 1781 that the Danish government sent a new colony to West Greenland. The ruins of the ancient settlement, but no traces of the descendants of the first colonists, were found. The country was then altogether occupied by Eskimaux. The south-eastern part of the west continues to be blocked up by ice. Captain Clavering met with a tribe of Eskimaux in about 74° of north latitude. It seems almost incredible that they should have reached that spot either by a land journey of eight hundred miles across Greenland, or the same distance along the frozen and inaccessible shores between Cape Farewell and the open sea in 69° of latitude. It is much more probable that at a former period the southern part of the eastern coast was free from ice.

" In the year 1001 land was discovered south-west of Cape Farewell, and a colony sent from Greenland. The country was called Vinland, and must have been Newfoundland. Mention is made of a tribe of Indians, who, from the description and the name of Skraellings or dwarfs, given them by the Normans, must have been Eskimaux. It appears that there existed another race of Indians in the interior of the island who are now extinct, and it is not known

* See Bost's Histoire du Christianisme, tom. iii. p. 385.

whether any vocabulary of their language which might indicate their origin has ever been obtained."*

Section III.—*Western Tribes of Esquimaux.*

It has been observed that the western tribes of Esquimaux, or those spread over the shores of America bordering on the Northern Pacific, differ much more from each other in their dialects than the eastern tribes. This argues a longer separation. It would seem probable that the extension of the race to the eastward of the Rocky Mountains is of much later date than the abode of tribes allied to this family on the coasts and islands bordering on Behring's Straits.

The history of the western branches of this stock is chiefly known to us through the medium of Russian discoveries, and the observations of officers who have resided in the Russian settlements in America. Professor Vater, when engaged in writing the last volume of the Mithridates, had some valuable documents confided to him in manuscript and in the Russian language, from which he made copious extracts containing much information respecting these western nations. The following notices are chiefly extracted from his work.

It seems that the western Esquimaux live in detached hordes, scattered on different parts of the coast, and separated from each other by tribes of people differing from them in language and character. The principal Esquimaux tribes are as follows.

1. Tribe of Jakutat, described by Chwostoff and Davidoff, in the vicinity of Behring's Bay. The adjacent country is occupied by the Ugalyachmutzi, a different race. A specimen of the language of Jakutat was obtained by Von Baranoff, the Russian director, which proves the people to be Esquimaux.

The same people occupy Prince William's Sound, as it appears from a vocabulary collected by Portlock.

* Gallatin's Synopsis.

2. Further to the westward are the Tschugazzi Esquimaux, who live between the Ugalyachmutzi and the Kenaizi, two tribes of the Kolushian race, which will be hereafter described. The people of Cook's Inlet are probably of the tribe of Tschugazzi.

3. The Konægi are inhabitants of the Isle of Kodiak. They are well known to the Russians, and are the people described by Chwostoff and Davidoff as the native inhabitants of the Russian settlements. Their language is decidedly akin to that of the Esquimaux in the east.

4. The Namollos or Stationary Tschuktschi are Asiatic Esquimaux. They have been described in the preceding volume of this work, to which I must refer my readers.

5. The people of Norton's Sound, nearly opposite to the coast of the Namollos, appear, from a vocabulary of the language collected by Cook and Anderson, to be a tribe of Esquimaux.

6. The language of Unalashka and the Aleutian Islands is much more remotely related to the Esquimaux. It is asserted in the preface to Von Resanoff's manuscript dictionary, that the idiom of Unalashka is the mother-tongue of the Aleutian Isles. It prevails also in the Fox Islands and at the end of the promontory of Aliaksa; but a difference of dialect already appears at the Andreanoff groupe, and in the isle of Atschu the people hardly understand the natives of Unalashka. Pallas long ago remarked in his 'Neue Nordliche Beytræge,' that the language of the Aleutian Isles and the promontory of Aliaska was different from that of Kodiak, which is an Esquimaux dialect; and Professor Vater, who examined the grammatical structure of these languages as far as he possessed data for the inquiry, also found them different.

The Aleutians appear to resemble the Esquimaux in physical characters: their languages contain words in common, and we require more complete evidence as to its intimate structure before we can venture to conclude that they are a distinct people from the Esquimaux.

SECTION IV.—*Physical and moral Characters and Language of the Esquimaux.*

The shape of the skull of the Esquimaux has been described in the first volume of this work, in which many of their physical peculiarities have been noticed. I shall only add in this place the observations of some of the oldest authors who have described the Esquimaux.

Crantz informs us that the Greenlanders are for the most part under five feet in stature. He adds that "they have well-shaped and proportioned limbs. Their face is commonly broad and flat, with high cheek bones, but round and plump cheeks. Their eyes are little and black, but devoid of sparkling fire. Their nose is not flat, but small, and projecting but little. Their mouth is little and round, and the underlip somewhat thicker than the other. Their body is of a dark grey colour all over, but the face brown or blue, and yet in many the red shines through. This brown colour seems not altogether from nature, because their children are born as white as others, but may proceed in part from their dirtiness, for they are continually handling grease or train, sit in the smother of their lamps, and seldom wash themselves. The sudden alternation of cold and raw air and burning heat in summer makes the Europeans somewhat browner, and may contribute to darken the complexion of the Greenlanders. Some have a moderately white skin and red cheeks, and might pass unnoticed among Europeans, especially among some of the Swiss mountaineers.

"They have universally coal-black, straight, strong, and long hair on their heads, but no beard because they root it out. Their hands and feet are little and soft, but their head and the rest of their limbs are large. They have high breasts and broad shoulders. Their whole body is fat."

Though the Esquimaux are, like the native American races in general, a black-haired tribe, it seems that this is not an universal character. M. Charlevoix assures us repeatedly that many of them are of the xanthous complexion, or what

the French call "*blonds.*" As this writer has given a very brief and well-drawn picture of the physical characters of the Eskimaux in New France, I shall extract the whole passage in which he speaks of them.

"L'origine de leur nom n'est pas certain. Toutefois il y a bien de l'apparence qu'il vient du mot Abenaqui, *esquimantsic*, qui veut dire "mangeur de viande cruë." Les Esquimaux sont en effet les seuls sauvages que nous connoissions qui mangent la chaîr cruë, quoiqu'ils ayent aussi l'usage de la faire cuire ou sêcher au soleil. Il est encore certain que de tous les peuples connus de l'Amérique, il n'en est point qui remplisse mieux que celui-ci la première idée que l'on a eue en Europe des sauvages. Il est presque la seule où les hommes ayent de la barbe, et ils l'ont si épaisse jusqu'aux yeux qu'on a peine à découvrir quelques traits de leur visage. Ils ont d'ailleurs je ne sçai quoi d'affreux dans l'air, de petits yeux effarés, des dents larges et fort sales, des cheveux *ordinairement noirs, quelquefois blonds,* fort en désordre, et tout l'extérieur fort brute. Leurs mœurs et leur caractère ne démentent point cette mauvaise physionomie. Ils sont féroces, farouches, défiants, inquiets, toujours portés à faire du mal aux étrangers.

"Leurs cheveux blonds, leurs barbes, la blancheur de leur peau, le peu de ressemblance et de commerce qu'ils ont avec leurs plus proches voisins, ne laissent aucun lieu de douter qu'ils n'ayent une origine différente de celle des autres Amériquains."

I have laid before my readers in the first volume of this work* an account of what appeared to me to be the most interesting traits in the psychological history of this race. I have taken this account principally from the narratives of the missionaries of the United Brethren, full of deep thought and reflection, and bearing an impress of truth and sincerity which cannot be mistaken. The reader will be convinced by these statements that, however unlike the rest of mankind the Esquimaux may seem to be in their inclement abodes, and modified by the perpetual influence of the different causes

* Book ii. chap. ii. sect. 4, p. 186 et seqq.

which act upon them, they are yet capable of civilisation and of receiving the Christian religion. I shall not add any further details respecting this race at present, especially as they have been of late so frequently described in the works of different voyagers.

A question has been raised, to what department of mankind the Esquimaux belong. Some think them a race allied to the northern Asiatics, and even go so far as to connect them with the Mongolians. Others, with greater probability, consider them as belonging to the American family. All the American writers eminent for their researches in the glottology of the New World, among whom I shall mention Mr. du Ponceau and Mr. Gallatin, are unanimous in the opinion that the Esquimaux belong to the same great department of nations as the Hunting Tribes of North America. The entire similarity of the structure and grammatical forms of their language with those of various Indian tribes, however different in their vocabularies, affords an almost conclusive proof of their belonging to the same division of mankind.*

As the Esquimaux locally occupy a sort of intermediate station between the Asiatic and American races, the inquiry naturally suggests itself, whether their language partakes of the Asiatic idioms, and would display, if the case were thoroughly examined, a specimen of the transition from one to another class. The affirmative has been strongly maintained of late by Dr. Latham, who has made a most careful and extensive collation of vocabularies. This had been attempted long ago by the authors of the Mithridates.

* Gallatin's Synopsis, p. 14.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE ATHAPASCAS OR CHEPEYANS.

SECTION I.—*General Account.—Different Tribes.*

IMMEDIATELY to the southward of the Esquimaux, a broad band of country extending across nearly the whole American continent from the western shore of Hudson's Bay to the narrow strip of land occupied by the sea-coast tribes of the North Pacific, but no where reaching to the sea-border itself, is inhabited by a race of people the different tribes of which have but lately been identified. By Mr. Gallatin they are denominated Athapascas. This name was originally that of the lake since called Lake of the Hills, and of the country surrounding that lake. The celebrated traveller Mackenzie called them Chepewyans, an appellative which must not be confounded with that of the Chippewahs, belonging to a people of a very different race, who are a tribe of the Algonquin family. The name of Chepewyan, or rather Chepeyan, is retained by Mr. Gallatin as the designation of a particular tribe of this race, namely, that tribe that was known to Mackenzie. The people bordering on Hudson's Bay, who have been termed by the agents of the Fur Company of that bay Northern Indians, as distinguished from the Knistenaux or Cree Indians, who inhabit the country to the southward of these Chepeyans, and are separated from them by the Missinippi or Churchill River, are a tribe of the same race. It was under the guidance of these Indians that Hearne in 1771 reached the mouth of the Copper-mine River in the Arctic Ocean, whence he returned to winter at Lake Atha-

pasca, nearly in the centre of the country of the Chepeyans. The Chepeyans trade and hunt in the neighbourhood of this lake and the river Missinippi. According to Captain Franklin they call themselves "Saw-eessaw-dinneh," or "Rising Sun Men." Their territory consists almost entirely of barrens destitute of trees. The names of the other tribes are given by Mackenzie or by Captain Franklin: they are all expressly said to speak dialects of the Chepeyan.

The whole of the country occupied or rather wandered over by people of this race is of great extent. On the coast of Hudson's Bay it reaches northward from Fort Churchill at the mouth of the Missinippi; not so far north as Chesterfield Inlet, for the Esquimaux occupy both sides of this inlet. This is its narrowest part, according to the information collected by Mr. Gallatin. The southern boundary of the Athapascas is formed by the River Missinippi from its mouth upwards to its source. From the source of that river it seems to stretch nearly in a straight direction across the American continent to a point in latitude 52° 30′, about a hundred miles from the Pacific Ocean. All the inland tribes to the northward of that line as far as the narrow belt inhabited by the Esquimaux belong to this family. There is but one exception to this remark, if it be one. The small tribe of Loucheux or Quarrellers, who border on the Esquimaux near the mouth of Mackenzie's River, were thought by Mackenzie and Captain Franklin to speak a language different from that of the neighbouring Athapascas. As no vocabulary of it has been obtained, nothing can be ascertained as to its relations. The line which forms the southern boundary of the Athapascan territory runs westward, as I have observed, to a point about a hundred miles distant from the Pacific Ocean, where it is supposed to terminate, the sea-coast nations, those, namely, of the Kolushian race, here coming in contact with the Athapascas. The most western tribe of this people are the Takali, Tacullies, or Carrier Indians, who will be mentioned among the inland tribes behind the Kolushian coast.

Besides the Takali and the Saw-eessaw-dinneh or Chepeyans and the Northern Indians of Hudson's Bay, several other

tribes of this race are mentioned. I shall attempt to put in numerical order the tribes of which some notices have been collected by Mr. Gallatin.

1. Takali, or Tacullies.
2. Saw-eesaw-dinneh.
3. Northern Indians on Hudson's Bay.
4. Tantsawhot-dinneh, or Birch-Rind men, living near the Great Slave Lake.
5. Thlingeha-dinneh, or Dog-rib Indians, called also Slaves by the Crees.
6. Edchahtawoot, or Thick-wood Hunters.
7. Mountain Indians, Hunters.
8. Ambahtawoot, or Sheep Indians.
9. Kancho, or Hare Indians. Below these are the Dígothí or Loucheux, speaking a different language, adjacent to the Esquimaux.
10. Nohannís.
11. Tsillaw-awdoot, or Brushwood Indians. Both of these are on the " Rivière aux Liards " or Poplar River.

12 and 13. The Beaver and Rocky Mountain Indians on the Unijak or Peace River.

14. Sussees or Sursees, near one of the sources of the Saskachawan River.

Mackenzie mentions several tribes of the same race in the Rocky Mountains under perhaps merely local names, as 15, the Nauscud Dennies, 16, Slouacus Dennies, and the Nagailers, who are the Carriers. Mr. Gallatin adds to these two tribes mentioned by Mr. Harmon, an American traveller, namely, the Sicaunies on the upper waters of the Unijak River, and the Naotetains, who live to the westward of the Tacullies.

Mr. Gallatin says that the similarity of language among all these tribes is well established. The Loucheux are excepted. This language does not appear to have any distinctly marked affinities except with that of the Kinai. Yet, he observes, the term for 'men' or 'people' is similar in the three great northern languages of America. In the

Esquimaux it is *innuit;* in the Chepeyan dialect of the Athapascan, *dinnie;* in some of the Algonquin dialects, *inini.*

It is also remarked that the Chepeyan word for woman, *chequois,* seems allied to the Lenapian or Algonquin word *squaw.*

Section II.—*National Relations and Physical Character of the Athapascas.*

The Athapascas are a people whose history, as yet little known, is in many points of view interesting. They will perhaps be found to furnish an intermediate link between the Esquimaux on one side and the various hunting American tribes on the other.* Sir Alexander Mackenzie was struck by a difference which he remarked between the Chepeyans and the tribes of the Algonquin race among whom he had before travelled, and he seemed to think that the former were an Asiatic or Siberian people. He says:—" their progress is easterly, and according to their own traditions they came from Siberia, agreeing in dress and manners with the eastern Asiatics. They have a tradition among them that they came originally from another country, inhabited by very wicked people, and had traversed a great lake, which was narrow, shallow, and full of islands, where they had suffered great misery, it being always winter, with ice and deep snow. At the Copper-mine River, where they made the first land, the ground was covered with copper, over which a body of earth has since been collected to the depth of a man's height. They believe also that in ancient times their ancestors lived till their feet were worn out with walking and their throats with eating. They describe a deluge, when the waters spread

* Dr. Latham, who has compared the Athapascan vocabulary collected by Mr. Gallatin with vocabularies of the Esquimaux, thinks he perceives an unquestionable affinity between them, and that these races have been too strongly separated. In manners and general character, however, they are very distinct from the Esquimaux.

over the whole earth except the highest mountain, on the tops of which they preserved themselves."

Mackenzie has described the physical characters of some of the Athapascan tribes in the Rocky Mountains. As in other parts of the world, it seems that mountaineers among the American nations have lighter eyes and hair than those of plains and hotter regions. The people whom Mackenzie terms Rocky Mountain Indians are said to have a complexion of a swarthy yellow. The natives of Friendly Village to the westward have round faces with high cheek bones, and a complexion between the olive and copper colour. They have small *grey* eyes with *a tinge of red*, and hair of *a dark brown colour* inclining to black: they are a distinct people. Another tribe nearer to the mountains is described in similar terms. "The colour of their eye is grey with *a tinge of red;* they have all high cheek bones, more remarkably the women." These are considerable deviations from the supposed uniformity in the physical characters of the American aborigines. The varieties of colour, tending towards a lighter tint, in the hair, eyes, and skin in the elevated regions, are phenomena similar to those which appear in other divisions of mankind. The hair is brown in these nations.

With respect to the moral and physical characters of these people, it is said that "they are sober, timorous, and vagrant, with a selfish disposition, which has sometimes created suspicions of their integrity. Their stature has nothing remarkable in it; but though they are seldom corpulent, they are sometimes robust. Their complexion is swarthy, their features coarse, and their hair lank, but not always of a dingy black; nor have they universally the piercing eye which generally animates the Indian countenance. The women have a more agreeable aspect than the men, but their gait is awkward, owing to the habit of wearing snow shoes and dragging sledges during nine months in the year. The men generally extract their beards. There are no people more attentive to the comforts of their dress, or less anxious respecting its exterior appearance. In the winter it is composed of skins dressed as fine as any chamois leather in the hair, and is worn double with the hair within and without."

The osteological structure of the Chepeyas is very similar to that of the Algonquin race. I have given in my first volume a description and a delineation of a Chepewyan cranium.*

* It must be observed that the Chippeways, who are an Algonquin race, to be described in the next chapter, are quite distinct from the Athapascan Chepeyas or Chepewyans.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE ALGONQUIN AND IROQUOIS RACES.

SECTION I.—*General Account.*

THE tribes of aboriginal Americans, who occupied at the period of European colonisation the greater part of Canada and all the northern and middle portion of the territory of the United States, are referable to two races, nearly connected in their history, though generally at hostilities with each other. The people of one of these races call themselves collectively, as we are informed by the venerable Heckewelder, "Wapanachki," or "Men of the East." This name was softened by the French colonists into Abenaki, and appriated by them to one tribe of the race who inhabit Canada. Another Canadian tribe were termed Algonquins, and this name has in recent times been generalised and has become the ordinary designation of the whole family of the Wapanachkian nations. The Delaware Indians, who are a branch of the same stock, call themselves Lenni Lenape, or "Original People." That name was never extended beyond the particular tribe, but Mr. Gallatin has chosen partly from them to denominate the whole race "the Algonquin Lenapian nations." The second race, above alluded to, are called by their immemorial enemies the Delawares "Mengwe." Heckewelder says that they term themselves Aquanoshioni, which means the "United People." English writers have commonly termed them the "Five Nations," and at a later period when the league which united them has been increased by one additional tribe, the "Six Nations." The

French called them Iroquois, and that name has become their modern title. The Hurons or Wyandots are a tribe of this race, though they never formed a part of the confederacy of the Five or the Six Nations.

The territory of the Iroquois was, as Mr. Gallatin observes, nearly surrounded by that of the Algonquin race.

The positions of both races will be most easily understood by tracing in the first place the circumference or outer boundary of the whole country inhabited by them.

The northern limit on the west of Hudson's Bay is the whole course of the Missinippi River from its source to its mouth, separating the territory of the Knistenaux or Crees, who are Algonquins, from the Athapascas to the northward of them. To the eastward of Hudson's Bay this northern limit of the Algonquin race is continued from a point nearly opposite the mouth of the Missinippi straight through Labrador till it approaches the Atlantic coast, there occupied by the Esquimaux.

The eastern limit of the Algonquin and Iroquois is the inland boundary of the Esquimaux, who are spread along the Atlantic coast: further southward, where there are no Esquimaux, the Atlantic Ocean formed the eastern limit of these nations from the north-east as far south as Cape Hatteras, near 35° N. L. It is probable, as Mr. Gallatin remarks, that a part of Newfoundland was formerly inhabited by a party of the Micmacs, an Algonquin tribe who inhabited the neighbouring coast.

On the south an irregular line drawn from Cape Hatteras to the mouth of the Ohio is the boundary separating the Algonquin and Iroquois collectively from the southern tribes, who will be mentioned in a succeeding chapter.

On the west the Mississippi traced up from the Ohio to its source; thence the Red River of Lake Winnipeg, formerly named after a tribe of this race near the Lake of the Assiniboins. Thence the original line further northward to the Missinippi cannot be traced. The Algonquin tribes on all this western frontier border on the Sioux, and tribes of both races have in several instances passed over and have established themselves beyond the general boundary: there are

some tribes of Sioux to the east of the Mississippi, and some of the Algonquin race to the westward.

The Iroquois nations were settled within these boundaries in two distinct and separated groupes.

The northern Iroquois tribes consisted of two distinct divisions, the eastern forming the confederation known by the name of Five Nations, whose original territory did not extend westward further than the western boundary of Pennsylvania; and the western branch, consisting, as far as can be ascertained, of four nations,—the Wyandots or Hurons, and the Attiouandarons or Neutral Nation, north; the Eriyas and the Andastes or Guandastogues (Guyandots), south of Lake Erie. These last, properly termed Yendots, were named by the English Wyandots, and by the French Hurons.*

The southern body of the Iroquois were called the Monæans in North Carolina, and Tuscaroras in Virginia. They were situated above the falls of the great rivers from James River north to the river Neuss south, and bordered on the Cheraws and Catawhas towards the south, elsewhere on Algonquin tribes. The Nottoways of North Carolina were discovered by Mr. du Ponceau to be of this race: the true name of the Nottoways was Cherohakah, a name which induces a suspicion of some connection with the Cherokees.

Section II.—*History of the Algonquin Race.—Tradition of the Lenni-Lenape.*

The Lenni-Lenape look upon themselves as the patriarchal stem of this race, and they have, perhaps, best preserved the national tradition. These are the people termed in the United States Delaware Indians. "The vast spread of the language of the Delawares in North America," says Dr. Barton, "is evinced by the names of many of the waters, the mountains,

* Gallatin's Synopsis, p. 80. This short account of the tribes and boundaries of these two races is abstracted from Mr. Gallatin's elaborate statement.

and the wastes of the country. It is a fact that from the Atlantic to the Mississippi a large proportion of the rivers and creeks are still best known by the names derived from the language of the Delawares and their brethren. Examples of this remark are Massachussets, Connecticut, Monengahella, Alleghany, Muskingam, Savannah, and Mississippi, which are all Delaware words."

The history of the Lenape is curious, and their traditions appear to the best-informed persons to be consistent and worthy of credit. The Lenni-Lenape, according to the tradition handed down to them from their ancestors, resided many centuries ago in a very distant country in the western part of the American continent. For some reason now forgotten, they determined on migrating to the eastward, and accordingly set out together in a body. After a long journey and many nights' encampment, by which they mean the halt of a year, in one place by the way, they at length arrived on the Namæsi-Sipu, River of Fish, or Mississippi, where they fell in with the Mengwe or Iroquŏis, who had likewise emigrated from a distant country and had struck upon this river somewhat higher up. Their object was the same as that of the Lenape: they were proceeding to the eastward until they should find a country that pleased them. With this nation, destined to be their future enemies and destroyers, the Lenape formed a confederacy and united their forces against a common foe. This was a powerful nation, whom their spies had discovered in the country eastward of the Mississippi, termed Talligewi, or more properly, as it seemed, Alligewi, who had built many large towns on the rivers flowing through their land. These people were a remarkably tall and stout race; higher in stature than the tallest of the Lenape: they were finally overcome by the latter, and being expelled from their territory fled down the Mississippi, whence they never returned. The Alleghany river or Ohio is still called after them by the Delawares Alligewi-Sipu, or River of the Alligewi, and the chain of mountains also preserves their name. The conquering nations divided the country eastward of the Namæsi-Sipu among themselves. The Lenape took possession and gradually migrated into the country to the south, and settled

on the four great rivers, Delaware, Hudson, Susquehannah, and Potomac; and the Mengwe or Iroquois occupied the lands further northward in the vicinity of the great lakes and on their tributary streams.

This migration, according to the traditions of the Lenape, was the cause of the division of their race into several bodies. Some remained beyond the Mississippi, and another body near that river on the eastern side; but the larger number settled on the Atlantic. This last body of the Lenape on the Atlantic became divided into three tribes, termed the Unamis and Unalachtigo or Turtle and Turkey, who settled near the sea from the Hudson River beyond the Potomac, and the Minsi or Wolf tribe, further westward. These people were commonly called Monseys.

From these three tribes, comprising the nation termed Delawares by the Anglo-Americans, were gradually descended many other divisions of the same race who continued to acknowledge the Lenape as their parent stock, or as their "*grandfather.*"*

Section III.—*Northern Nations of the Algonquin Race.*

The northern tribes of this race are, according to Mr. Gallatin, the Knistinaux, the Algonquins, the Chippewas or Ojibways, the Ottawhas, the Potowatomis, and the Mississagis.

Paragraph 1.—The Knistineaux.

The Knistineaux, or Klistinos, or Kristinaux, by abbreviation Crees, are the most northern tribe of this family. Bounded on the north by the Athapascas, they reach partly by recent conquests from Hudson's Bay to the Rocky Mountains. In the western tract of that country, and near the Saskachawan, they are interspersed among tribes of the Assini-

* Heckewelder. See Du Ponceau's correspondence with Heckewelder, American Historical Transactions, vol. i. p. 30, 107, &c.

boins. They are spread northward as far as Lake Athapasca. On the south they are bounded by Chippewas and Algonquins. The people near Hudson's Bay called Southern Indians are of this nation. The name of Knistinaux originally belonged to a tribe near Lake Winnipeg. It is now widely extended to all the tribes who speak dialects nearly related.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie has given a vocabulary of the language of the Knistinaux compared with that of the Algonquins, by which it appears that they are strictly cognate. That writer has sketched out the boundaries of their country, but less accurately than Mr. Gallatin. He has given the following description of the people. "They are of moderate stature, well-proportioned, and of great activity. Their complexion is of a copper colour, and their hair black, which is common to all the nations of North America." To this observation some exceptions are mentioned afterwards by this writer himself. "It is cut in various forms according to the fancy of the several tribes, and by some is left in the long lank flow of nature. They very generally extract their beards. Their eyes are black, keen, and penetrating; their countenance open and agreeable; and it is a principal object of their vanity to give every possible decoration to their persons. A material article in their toilets is vermilion, which they contrast with their native ochre, and white and brown earths, to which charcoal is frequently added." "Of all the nations I have seen on this continent, the Knistinaux women are the most comely. Their figures are generally well-proportioned, and the regularity of their features would be acknowledged by the most civilised people of Europe. Their complexion is of that dark tinge which is common to those savages who have less cleanly habits."

Paragraph 2.—The Algonquins Proper.

It is difficult to determine to what tribe of this family the name of Algonquin originally belonged before it became generalised. There appears to have been one particular dialect properly termed Algonquin. According to Charlevoix the

Nipisings were the true Algonquins; they were a tribe living on Lake Nipising at the head of the portage between the Ottawa River and the waters of Lake Huron. This is confirmed by Mackenzie.

At the first settlement of Canada the native tribes on the St. Lawrence near Quebec were called Montagnards from a ridge of hills below that town, inhabited by tribes who with others of the same region had their great trading place at Tadoussac, at the mouth of the river Saguenay. The most ancient specimen of their language is found at the end of Champlain's Voyages: it is called Montagnar. The name of Montagnar, from identity of language, was extended soon to all the Indian tribes on the river as far as Montreal. The tribe on the Ottawa river were soon distinguished by the term Algonquin, having, as it appears, some difference of dialect, and the two dialects, the Algonquin and the Montagnar, continued to be distinguished until the former name prevailed and became generalised.

Mr. Gallatin observes that the difference between these two dialects was very inconsiderable. Father Le Jeune, one of the old French missionaries in Canada, who appears to have been well acquainted with the Montagnar, was able in it to converse with the Nipissiriniens. He said that a person who knew perfectly the dialect of the Quebec Indians, viz. the Montagnar, could be understood by all the nations from Newfoundland to the country of the Hurons, that is, to Lake Huron.

It seems from Mr. Gallatin's researches, which are very curious and minute, that the most genuine Algonquin has been spoken on the river Ottawa, and that the remains of the people who formerly spoke it, and who were the original Algonquins, are to be found on that river and in the villages of Lower Canada. Among these proper Algonquins are the tribe of Ottawas, called by the old French writers Outuonais, and the Nipissings, whom the same writers term Nipissiriniens. For an account of the migratory movements of these tribes, as far back as they can be traced, I must refer my readers to Mr. Gallatin.

Paragraph 3.—The Chippewas or O'jibways (O-chepe-wag).

These are a tribe of the Algonquin race who live further to the westward between Lake Superior and the Mississippi. It seems from Keating's account that some of them reach as far westward as Lake Winnipeg and to the river Assiniboin, and even to some parts of the Saskatchawan river. They are divided into ten bands or tribes, which have their appropriate abodes. Of the Chippewas a very interesting account was given long ago by Carver, who resided some time among them. But the most satisfactory information respecting this nation is to be found in the account given of them by Professor Keating, who has described their moral and physical characteristics with scientific accuracy. I must refer my readers to this description, from which I shall cite the following passages.

"The Chippewas are not naturally very strong, but they are active; they will walk, swim, paddle, &c. for a length of time without any apparent fatigue; they are inured to exercise, and heedless of exposures of all kinds; they make good hunters and skilful fishers. They are generally tall and thin, and are easily distinguished from the Missouri Indians by the absence of the aquiline nose, which may be considered characteristic of the latter; their bodies and shoulders are well set and well proportioned; their legs are not very good, generally destitute of calf, with thick knees and ankles; their feet are large; their arms and hands small and well-shaped; they possess great strength in the wrist; their voice is strong and harmonious, many of them sing, and their ear appears good. Of their musical talent we cannot, however, form a high estimation. We heard one of their songs, which accompanies the scalp-dance."

"The Chippewas believe that there is in man an essence entirely distinct from the body; they call it Ochechag, and appear to apply to it the qualities which we refer to the soul. They believe that it quits the body at the time of death, and repairs to what they term Cheke Chekchekame. This

region is supposed to be situated to the south, and on the shores of the Great Ocean. Previous to arriving there they meet with a stream, which they are obliged to cross upon a large snake that answers the purpose of a bridge. Those who die from drowning never succeed in crossing the stream; they are thrown into it and remain there for ever. Some souls come to the edge of the stream, but are prevented from passing by the snake that threatens to devour them; these are the souls of persons in a lethargy or trance. Being refused a passage, these souls return to their bodies and reanimate them. They believe that animals have souls, and even that inorganic substances, such as kettles, &c. have in them a similar essence. In this land of souls all are treated according to their merits. Those who have been good men are free from pain; they have no duties to perform; their time is spent in dancing and singing, and they feed upon mushrooms, which are very abundant. The souls of bad men are haunted by the phantoms of the persons or things that they have injured; thus, if a man has destroyed much property, the phantoms of the wrecks of this property obstruct his passage wherever he goes; if he has been cruel to his dogs or horses, they also torment him after death; the ghosts of those whom during his lifetime he wronged are there permitted to avenge their injuries. They think that when a soul has crossed the stream, it cannot return to its body; yet they believe in apparitions, and entertain the opinion that the spirits of the departed will frequently revisit the abodes of their friends in order to invite them to the other world, and to forewarn them of their approaching dissolution."

Paragraph 4.—The Potowatomi.

To the westward of the Miamis, in the country near the Lake Michigan, dwell the people termed Potowatomi, of whom we have a sufficient account in the narrative of the late expedition to the source of St. Peter's River. It seems that the Miami term the Potowatomi their elder brethren,

as the tribes who live towards the east always term those who, being of the same stock, live further to the westward. The Potowatomi remember the time when they first became aware of the existence of the Miami, though the latter are their neighbours. Yet these tribes are of kindred origin. "The Potowatomi," says the intelligent narrator of the expedition, "appear to be connected not only by language, but also by their manners, customs, and opinions, with the numerous nations of Algonquin origin. The languages of all these nations have evident marks of a common origin, and in some cases appear to be only dialects of the same tongue; and, although diversities of dress and of dialect distinguish them, their customs and usages were evidently for the most part the same." The same writer also hints that cannibalism is one of the characteristic habits of the Algonquin nations: it appears, however, to have been long ago discarded by the eastern tribes. The physical characters of the Potowatomi are thus described by the same writer.

"The Potowatomi are for the most part well-proportioned, about five feet eight inches in height, possessed of much muscular strength in the arm, but rather weak in the back, with a strong neck, and endowed with considerable agility. Their voice is feeble and low, but when excited, very shrill. Their teeth are sound and clean, but not remarkable for regularity. In persons of feeble habit or of a scrofulous tendency the teeth are found to decay much faster than in others. Dentition is said to be a painful process among Indian children, a circumstance which we had not expected. Their complexion is very much darkened by exposure to the sun and wind, while those parts which are kept covered are observed to retain their native brightness. Children are red when new-born; after a few years they assume the yellow colour." Some other observations are added tending to prove that all the organs of sense are very perfect in these tribes, as well as the physical powers in general.

It seems that the nations above described form one department of the Algonquin race. It has been observed by Mr. Gallatin, that, although the Algonquins, the Chippewas,

the Ottawas, and the Potowatomis speak different dialects, these are so nearly allied that they may be considered rather as dialects of the same than as distinct languages. The same observation applies, though with less force, to the dialect of the Knistinaux, between which and that of the Algonquins and Chippewas the several vocabularies, particularly those of Mackenzie, exhibit a close affinity. The northern Algonquin tribes enumerated under this head may be said to form in reference to language but one subdivision, the most numerous and probably the original stock of all the other kindred branches of the same family.

Of the numbers of people belonging to each division, we have the following account from the same writer. "According to an estimate of the War Department, the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Potowatomis would amount to near twenty-two thousand. It is probable that those living in Canada are partly included. The Chippewas and Ottawas within the United States amount, by Mr. Schoolcraft's official report, to fourteen thousand. Adding some Ottawas not included, and the Potowatomis, they may together be estimated at about nineteen thousand. Including the Knistinaux and the Chippewas and Algonquins within the British possessions, I should think that the whole of this northern branch of the Algonquin Lenape family cannot be less than thirty-five thousand to forty thousand souls. All the other branches of the family do not together exceed twenty-five thousand."

SECTION IV.—*Of the North-eastern or Abenaquian Branch of the Algonquin Race.*

The name of Abenaqui, in the opinion of Mr. Pickering, was originally a corruption of Wapanachki, and comprehended all the tribes of the Algonquin race, or at least all those of the Atlantic coast. By Europeans it has been restricted to certain tribes who belonged originally to Nova Scotia and the adjoining north-eastern territory of the United States, now the State of Maine. It is now appropriated to those tribes who speak the Abenaquian or Abnakian language, of

which a dictionary has been published by Mr. Pickering, originally composed by the Jesuit Sebastian Rasles.*

This branch of the Algonquin family comprises, besides the proper Abenaquis, the Souriquois of French writers, now called Micmacs, who inhabited the peninsula of Nova Scotia as far as Cape Breton, as well as several islands; also the Etchemins, of whom there were two tribes not yet extinct, viz., the Indians of St. John's River in New Brunswick, and the Pessamaquoddi tribe in New England.† The Abenaqui, more properly so termed, had their principal settlement, according to Mr. Pickering,‡ at the village of Naurautsouak, now strangely metamorphosed into Norridgewock, on the river Kennebec, about two hundred miles from Boston. The site of this place is described by an American writer as one of those beautiful prairies or spots of alluvial ground to which nature seems to have invited the residence of man, as if to free him from toil and lavish upon him all the goods which spring from fertility, and all the pleasures which the finest scenes of a romantic solitude can afford. It was in this village that Sebastian Rasles took up his abode, and there he compiled his dictionary of the Abenaquian language. This has preserved, according to Mr. Pickering, the northern dialect of the Lenapian race, as the bible and grammar and other works of Eliot and Cotton have preserved the Massachussets or middle dialect, and the works of Zeisberger and Heckewelder the southern idiom of the same great race.

The Abenaqui, as we are assured by Father Charlevoix, were the inhabitants of the country about St. Francis, in Canada, near the river of that name. He says, "their first settlement, after leaving their own country to dwell among us, was on the little river which discharges itself into the St. Lawrence opposite to Sillery, near Quebec. They now live on the banks of the river St. Francis, two leagues from its discharge into the Lake St. Peter. They are all Christians, and very much attached to the French."§ This was written

* Mr. Pickering on Rasles' Dictionary of the Abnakian language.

† Gallatin's Synopsis, p. 30.

‡ Pickering, ibid.

§ Charlevoix, Voyage to North America, vol. i., Letter 7.

in 1722. Mr. Gallatin says that all the Abenaquis, namely, all the remainder of them, withdrew to Cañada in 1754, with the exception of the tribe of Penobscot, on the river of that name. The Penobscot tribe, about three hundred in number, still remain in New England.

The Abenaquis appear, from Mr. Gallatin's account, to have reached southward to a line between the river Kennebec and the Piscataqua. The tribes below this line belong to the next division.

Section V.—*The Eastern or Atlantic Tribes.*

Under this head are comprehended the tribes of New England, namely, those between the Abenaquis and the Hudson River; the Long Island Indians; the Delaware and Minsi; the Nantikoks; the Susquehannoks, the Powhatans, and the Pamlicos.

Paragraph 1.—The New England Tribes.

They are enumerated from Gookin, who wrote in 1674, as follows:—1. Pequods and Mohegans in Connecticut; 2. Narragansets in Rhode Island; 3. Massachussets; 4. Pawkunnawkuts or Wampanoags; 5. Pawtuckets. The Penacooks and Nipmuks are added. All these nations were divided into several tribes, each under its own sachem. The people of these tribes were numerous; their idioms nearly identical; Roger Williams's key or vocabulary seems to be a specimen. The language of the Mohicans or Mahhekanaw of Jonathan Edwards, and the dialect preserved in Eliot's translation, are but slight modifications of the same. Edwards's vocabulary is very short, but the defect is supplied by others, all of which have been collated and examined by Mr. Gallatin.

Paragraph 2.—The Lenni-Lenape or Delaware Indians.

The Lenni-Lenape or Delaware Indians consisted originally

of three tribes: 1, the Unami or Turtle tribe; 2, the Minsi or Wolf tribe; 3, Unalachtigo or Turkey tribe. The Unami remain mixed with the Unalachtigo.

The Delaware and Minsi occupied the country bounded towards the east and south by the Hudson River and the Atlantic. Towards the west they were bounded by the Nanticokes and Susquehannoks. The Minsi were in New Jersey.

Before the treaty with William Penn the Delawares had been vanquished by the Five Nations, and "made women" by them according to their phrase, that is, deprived of their civil rights. Penn was obliged to purchase the possession of land from the Delawares and the sovereignty from the Five Nations. This subjugation took place, as Mr. Gallatin thinks, subsequently to the arrival of the Europeans in America.

Paragraph 3.—Tribes of Virginia and Maryland.

Of six tribes on the coast of Virginia and Maryland, the two southernmost, Acomach and Acohanoch, spoke the Powhatan language. Thence to the mouth of the Susquehannah there were four other tribes. The Nanticocks and Conoys are not mentioned in this list: they remained on the Susquehannah till the commencement of the war of the revolution. They no longer exist as a nation. Vocabularies of their language are given by Mr. Gallatin from Du Ponceau's collections. The names of many other inferior tribes were collected by Mr. Gallatin.

It seems that the Lenape tribes formerly occupied Albemarle and Pamlico sounds and reached to Cape Hatteras.

Section VI.—*The Western Branch of the Algonquin Race.*

The Western Lenape, as Mr. Gallatin terms them, are the Menomonies or "Folles Avoines," the Miami and Illinois tribes, the Sauks, Foxes, and Kickapoos, and finally the Shawnoes.

The Menomonies are called "Folles Avoines," or Wild

Oats, from the wild rice or zizania which their country produces. They inhabit the tract which lies to the southward of those Chippewas who possess the southern bank of Lake Superior. Their idiom is a dialect of the Algonquin, but more remote from that of the neighbouring Chippewas than almost any other language of the same great family. They are estimated to amount to four thousand two hundred souls.

The Sauks or Saukees (White Clay) and the Foxes or Outagamies, whose true name is Musquakkiuk or Red Clay, are in fact one nation. It seems that the Sauks, Foxes, and Kickapoos speak one language, which is a dialect of the Algonquin.

The Miamis and Illinois were once, according to Charlevoix, one people, and had the same language. The Miamis were intimately connected with the Piankishaws. The Illinois consisted of five tribes, the Kaskaskias, Cabokias, Tamaronas, Peorias, and Mitchigamias.

Shawnoes.—The name of the Shawnoes means Southern, and accords with their situation. Their original seats are uniformly placed in the old French maps on the south side of the Ohio, and extending thence south to Cumberland River, which bore their name. From scattered notices it may be conjectured, as Mr. Gallatin says, that the Shawnoes, according to the statement of the Sauks and Foxes, separated at an early period from the other tribes of the Lenapian stock, and settled to the southward of the Ohio, in the country now called Kentucky. Being driven from thence probably by the Cherokees and Chikasahs, the main body of the nation, invited by the Miamis, occupied the country on the Scioto, and joined in the war against the Five Nations, while other divisions of the same nation settled themselves in different parts of Pennsylvania and Carolina.

Section VII.—*Of the Iroquois Tribes.*

We have already noticed the division of the nation who spoke the Iroquois language into northern and southern tribes.

These two sections of the same poeple were separated from each other by intervening tribes of the Algonquin family.

At the period of the colonisation of Canada the Five Nations were engaged in a war of extermination with the Algonquin tribes. It is remarkable, as Mr. Gallatin observes, that the Wyandots, though Iroquois themselves, were the head and principal support of the Algonquin confederacy. The consideration in which they were held appears from the fact that even the Delawares, who claimed to be the elder branch of the race and called themselves grandfathers of the other Lenapian nations, recognised the superiority of the Wyandots, whom to this day they call their uncles; and though they are reduced to a small number, the right of the Wyandots, derived either from ancient sovereignty or from incorporation of the three extinct tribes, to the country between Lake Erie and the Ohio, from the Alleghany River to the great Miami, has never been disputed by any other than the Five Nations. They had concentrated themselves, probably on account of their wars with the Five Nations, in twenty-one villages in the vicinity of Lake Huron. The French missionaries were indefatigable in their endeavours to convert them, and Father Brebœuf and his associates have left a more permanent impression on the Hurons than was effected in any other aboriginal race in the French settlements. They are supposed to have amounted to ten thousand or twelve thousand souls, but about twelve hundred were destroyed by the small-pox in 1639; and ten years afterwards the whole nation was nearly exterminated and its remnants dispersed by the Five Nations. The Tionontates, one of the subordinate tribes of this nation, then took refuge among the Chippewas, but at length returned to Détroit, near their ancient seats.

The other tribes of this subdivision of the Iroquois met nearly the same fate as the Hurons, and were exterminated by the Five Nations.

The Five Nations were the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. Their confederacy was of ancient date. The Oneidas and Cayugas are said to have been compelled to join it, and were called younger

nations. The Tuscaroras, or rather the remnant of them, after their defeat in 1712–13, were admitted as a sixth nation, and the confederacy was termed the Six Nations.

The Five Nations had gained a decided superiority over all the other tribes before the arrival of Europeans. It appears that they were a braver people than the Algonquins, and they were further advanced in agriculture and other arts. On all occasions they discovered a higher intelligence.

The Southern Iroquois occupied Chowan River and its tributary streams. Several inferior tribes belonged to them, as the Tuteloes, Nottoways, and Meherrins, mentioned by Lawson in his account of the North Carolina Indians; but by far the chief tribes were the Tuscaroras in North Carolina, where, according to Lawson, they had fifteen towns and twelve hundred warriors. A war breaking out with the colonists after the murder of Lawson, the governor, by these people, they were vanquished, and the body removed in 1714–15, and were received as a sixth nation into the confederacy previously The Five.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the number of people of the Iroquois race amounted to forty thousand. At present the remnant of all the Iroquois tribes cannot, as Mr. Gallatin concludes, much exceed seven thousand souls. Their destruction is to be attributed to wars among themselves. The Mohawks, who, in alliance with the English, carried on a murderous war against the Americans during the war of the revolution, were driven out of their country and obliged to take refuge in Canada. With this exception no encroachment was made on the native possessions of the Five Nations before the year 1783, and their number has not diminished since that time.

Section VIII.—*Physical Characters of the Iroquois.*

No remarkable difference has been said to exist between the Algonquin and Iroquois races, as far as their physical characters are concerned.

Kalm has described the Hurons and some other tribes of

the Iroquois nation. From his account it appears that they do not differ remarkably in person from the Algonquin race. He says: "The Hurons are tall, robust people, well-shaped, and of a copper colour; they have short black hair, which is shaved on the forehead from one ear to the other. The Anies, another Iroquois tribe, speaking the Huron language, are equally tall. The Hurons seem to have a longer, and the Anies a rounder face. The Anies have something cruel in their looks. Both the Hurons and Anies are taller than the Mickmacks. The latter speak a different language." They have already been mentioned as an Abenaqui tribe, and are therefore of the Algonquin race. Kalm says: "I have not seen any Indians whose hair was so long and straight as theirs. Almost all the Indians have black straight hair: however, I have met a few whose hair was pretty much curled: but the Indians of Canada have been somewhat intermixed with the French."

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES.

SECTION I.—*General Statement.*

WE have seen that the northern and middle portions of the territory now belonging to the United States to the eastward of the Mississippi were occupied by the different tribes of the two great hostile races of the Algonquins and Iroquois. The southern boundary of these races is nearly marked out by a line reaching from the mouth of the Ohio eastward, passing up the Cumberland River to its source, and thence crossing almost straight to Cape Hatteras. To the southward of this line the aboriginal tribes still existing belong to several races, while a much greater number of tribes have become extinct, whose relations to each other and to the surviving races cannot be ascertained. Mr. Gallatin has collected much information respecting the extinct as well as the surviving tribes, from which I shall abstract the following notices.

SECTION II.—*Nations of Carolina.—Remains of the Catawbas.—Notices of the extinct Tribes.*

The Catawbas are supposed to have been a people of considerable extent in North Carolina. A small remnant of them still exists on each side of the Catawba or Santee River. Their language is quite distinct from that of the Cherokees, but has some affinities with the Muskhogee, and even with the Choctah. It is probable that the Woccons and some

other tribes in North Carolina, now extinct, belonged to this nation.

Several tribes formerly distinct appear to have coalesced with the Catawbas. Adair* mentions the Cheraws, Waterees, Congarees, Enoes, &c. as having joined the Catawbas. Mr. Gallatin thinks Adair was mistaken when he said that these nations spoke different dialects. The words collected by Dr. Smith Barton are nearly identical with Mr. Miller's vocabulary of the Catawba language.

Of numerous tribes who formerly occupied the southern parts of the United States territory, only few and obscure notices can be collected.

At the era of the colonisation of South Carolina four tribes are mentioned between the rivers Ashley and Savannah. The Stonoes, Edistoes, and Westoes were probably of one race: they were expelled by the fourth nation, the Savannahs. The three former are lost sight of: the Savannahs appear to be the race afterwards better known under their native name Yamassees; the principal town of these people was Polhetalico. It is probable that they were a tribe of Muskhogee.

A great number of small tribes are mentioned by Lawson and others in the two Carolinas, of most of whom nothing is preserved but their names. Mr. Gallatin has collected the following:—Sewees, Santees, Wyniaws, Congarees, Waterees, Waxsaws, residing, according to Lawson, near the Santee River;—Cheraws, Cape Fear Indians, Esaws, and Kadapaws of Lawson, supposed to be the Catawbas;—Saponas, Toteros, Keyauwees, Sissipahaws, Enoes. Except the Catawbas these tribes and their languages are entirely unknown. In the eastern part of North Carolina, besides Iroquois and Lenapians, the Woccons are mentioned, the Machapanga, Bear River Indians, Connamox, and Neuse Indians, Coramines, Saponas, Chowans, Wyanokes, Sawara: in South Carolina the Saluda. Lawson, from whom most of these names are taken, was struck by the great diversity of all their languages. Mr. Gallatin has found the vocabulary of the Woccons to be, probably, cognate with the Catawba.

* Adair's American Indians.

We have seen that the Congarees, Cheraws, and some other small tribes were also of the same race.

SECTION III.—*Of the four great Southern Nations, the Cherokees, Chikasahs, Choktahs, and the Muskhogees; and of the Creek Confederacy.*

These nations are classed under one head by American writers, partly, as it appears, on account of their political relations to the government of the United States. Their collective numbers, according to the estimates of the American War Department, amount to 67,000 souls. Except the last 2,000, they all belong to three races, which, in the opinion of Mr. Gallatin, may be referred ultimately to two families.

1. The Cherokees		15,000
2. The Choktahs	18,500	24,000
The Chikasahs	5,500	
The Muskhogees, Seminoles, and Hitchittees		26,000
3. Other distinct nations, the Achees, Alibamons, Coosadas, and Natches		2,000
		67,000

Paragraph 2.—The Cherokees.

The Cherokees, Chelakees, or more properly Tsalakies, possessed the country to the north and south of the south-westerly continuation of the Appalachian Mountains, and on both sides of the Tennessee or Cherokee River and its tributary streams. They were separated from the Ohio by the territory of the Shawnoes, who dwelt between them and that river. Their country was strong: they formed but one nation. By Adair in 1762 their warriors were estimated at 2,300. He says that forty years before they had 6,000. This diminution, if it happened, was antecedent to intercourse between the Cherokees and Europeans. Since they came into contact with Europeans, notwithstanding successive

cessions of part of their territory, the number of the Cherokees, at least during the last forty years, has increased. According to a late estimate of the Indian department they now amount to 15,000 souls, including those who have already been removed beyond the Mississippi, but exclusively of about 1,200 Negroes in their possession.

Dr. Barton thought the Cherokee language belonged to the Iroquois family, and on that point Mr. Gallatin is inclined to the same opinion. The affinities are few and remote, but there is a similarity in the general termination of syllables, in the pronunciation and accent, which has struck some of the native Cherokees. We have not a sufficient knowledge of the grammar or language of the Iroquois to decide the question. The affinity on which Mr. Gallatin rests his opinion has been disclosed by the very remarkable invention of a syllabic character for the Cherokee, in which it has now become a written language, made by the celebrated Sequoyah, called by the Anglo-American Guess, a native Cherokee, unacquainted with the English language. This consists in the termination of all the syllables in a vowel or a nasal, and in the absence of all double consonants except *tl*, *ll*, and the combination of *s* with four or five different letters.

Paragraph 3.—The Muskhogees, Seminoles, and Hitchittees.

The Muskhogees occupy the country extending from the Cherokees and the river Savannah on the north and northeast to the gulf of Mexico, and west to the river Mobile, comprising nearly the whole of both the Floridas. In this is included the territory of the Seminoles and the Hitchittees: the former occupy the peninsula of Florida; they are of the Muskhogian race and speak their language purely, but are an independent tribe; their name is Isty-Semole, or "Wild Men." The Hitchittees speak a dialect of the same language.

The Muskhogees constitute seven-eighths of the Creek confederacy. The Achees and Natches are both incorporated in that confederacy, though speaking two distinct languages

altogether different from the Muskhogee. The Natches came from the borders of the Mississippi and joined the Creeks a hundred years ago: they are a residue of the well-known nation of that name. The original seats of the Achees were east of the Coosa River.

Two other small tribes closely connected together, viz. the Alibamons and the Coosadas, whose idiom is quite different from the Muskhogee.

These five languages belong to the Creek confederacy, the Muskhogees and Hitchittees, the Achees, the Natches, and the Alibamon or the Coosada.

Paragraph 4.—The Chikasahs and the Choktahs.

The Chikasahs and the Choktahs, properly Chahtahs or Flat-heads, different nations, but one race speaking the same language, occupied respectively the northern and southern parts of the country reaching southward from near the mouth of the Ohio, and bounded to the west by the Mississippi, and to the east by the Cherokían and Muskhogían nations. Only the sea-coast from the Mobile to the Mississippi was inhabited by several small tribes, of which the Natches were the principal.

The tradition of these nations is that the Chikasahs came from the west: the Choktahs have lost all memory of a former migration. They and the Muskhogee say that they came from under the ground.

The Choktahs in 1772, according to Bernard Romans, had less than three thousand warriors. This traveller says they might be more properly called a nation of farmers than any savages known to him; they laboured with their wives in the field, and were more addicted to agriculture than to the chase.

Mr. Gallatin has collected many notices of these nations from early writers, and he has drawn a conclusion, which appears fully established, that the primitive abodes of the Cherokees, Muskhogees, and other nations enumerated in this section, were nearly in the same tracts where they are

now, or were until the removal of some of them beyond the Mississippi. We have no proof that they extended further towards the Atlantic. It is probable that the sea-shores of Florida as well as of Georgia were occupied by different tribes now extinct. "We know that the natives of that peninsula were people distinct from the Muskhogees and Seminoles, who subjugated or destroyed them. The Colooses, the last remnant of those Floridian tribes, had been driven to the Keys lying at the southern extremity of the peninsula. Even there the water did not protect them from the Creeks, and in 1763 the last remnant of this people, consisting of about eighty families, left this last possession in their native land and went to the Havanna." Many petty tribes now unknown existed on the coast of Florida and Georgia when the French attempted to make settlements there in 1562 and 1567. None of them now exist unless they have been incorporated in the Creek confederacy.

Mr. Gallatin, after examining a variety of accounts which bear upon the question, concludes that the four great southern nations were not more numerous three hundred years ago than at the present day, and that their manners have not undergone much change. An exception to this remark must be admitted in respect to the late improvements of the Cherokees in civilisation and in the conversion of many of them to Christianity.

We have an account of the physical characters of these nations from William Bartram. It is as follows:—

"The males of the Cherokees, Muscogulges, Seminoles, Chicasaws, Choctaws, and confederate tribes of the Creeks, are tall, erect, and moderately robust; their limbs well-shaped, so as generally to form a perfect human figure; their features regular, and countenance open, dignified, and placid, yet the forehead and brow are so formed as to strike you instantly with heroism and bravery; the eye, though rather small, yet active and full of fire, the iris always black, and the nose commonly inclining to the aquiline. Their countenance and actions exhibit an air of magnanimity, superiority, and independence. Their complexion is of a reddish brown or copper colour; their hair long, lank, coarse, and black as

a raven, and reflecting the like lustre at different exposures to the light. The women of the Cherokees are tall, slender, erect, and of a delicate frame; their features formed with perfect symmetry; the countenance cheerful and friendly; and they move with a becoming grace and dignity.

"The Muscogulge women, though remarkably short of stature, are well-formed; the visage round, features regular and beautiful; the brow high and arched; the eye large, black, and languishing, expressive of modesty, diffidence, and bashfulness: they are, perhaps, the smallest race of women yet known, seldom above five feet high, and I believe that the greater number never arrive to that stature; their hands and feet not larger than those of Europeans of nine and ten years of age; yet the men are of gigantic stature, a full size larger than Europeans; many of them above, and few under, six feet, or five feet eight or ten inches. Their complexion is much darker than any of the tribes to the north of them that I have seen. This description will, I believe, comprehend the Muscogulges, their confederates the Choctaws, and the Chicasaws, (though I have never seen their women,) excepting, however, some bands of the Seminoles, Uches, and Savannaws, who are rather taller and slenderer, and their complexion brighter."

"The Cherokees are yet taller and more robust than the Muscogulges, and by far the largest race of men I have seen; their complexion brighter and somewhat of an olive cast, especially the adults; and some of their young women are nearly as fair and blooming as European women."*

Section IV.—*Tribes between the Mobile and Mississippi, and between that River and the Red River.*

We know but little of the small tribes who formerly inhabited the coast between the Mobile and the Mississippi and the banks of that river, on the coast reaching from its

* Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, &c. by W. Bartram.

mouth to Red River. Mr. Gallatin has collected their names and notices of their abodes from Du Pratz, and an account by Dr. Sibley of Nachitoches.

The former mentions the Mobilians east of the Mississippi, speaking the Choktah language; the Pascagoulas, now on Red River; the Colapissas, near New Orleans, now lost. The Biluxas of Biloxi now live below Nachitoches. The Oumas or Humas (Red Nation), the Tunicas, and the Yaroos, who spoke Chikasah, have still left a few families.

To the west of the Mississippi Du Pratz mentioned the Bayagoulas, Cooyelles, and Wanhittas, whose names have disappeared.

Dr. Sibley enumerated the small tribes still existing west of Mississippi and on Red River. They are either tribes who have migrated within the memory of man from the eastern side, or were natives of the western.

The former class consist of the Appalaches, the Alibamas, the Conchattas, Taensas (originally from the western side), Humas, Tunicas, Boluxas, Pascagoulas, and Pacanas. Each of these four last had a distinct language.*

The second class consists of the following tribes.

1. The Caddoes or Caddokies formerly lived three hundred miles up Red River on a prairie near an eminence, on which they say that after the world had been drowned in a flood, the Great Spirit placed one family of Caddoes, from whom all the Indians have descended. They now live about 130 miles above Nachitoches, and are much reduced but respected by the neighbouring tribes.

The Nandakoes, Inies, or Tachies, who have given their name to the province of Texas, and the Nabedaches, speak dialects of the same language.

2. Natchitoches and the Yatassees speak a distinct language.

3. The Adaizi, 4. Appelousas, 5. Attacapas or "Men-eaters," 6. Chactoos, have all distinct languages.

* It may be conjectured that several of these are of Choktah origin, because their names are significant in the Choktah language, as Pascagoulas (Bread Nation), Aquelonpissas (who hear and see), Oumas (Red People). But this is no certain proof. See Gallatin's Synopsis, p. 117.

7. The Panis or Towiaches on Red River and some other tribes speak the same language, supposed from their name to be of the same race with the Pawnees of the Arkansa. Beyond the Panis there are none but erratic tribes.

Mr. Gallatin adds the following to Dr. Sibley's enumeration.

8. Chitimachas, formerly near lake Barataria, still existing in Louisiana.

Mr. Gallatin observes that in the north four or five great languages are spread through the whole country, whereas in the south of the Lenape and Iroquois there are three extensive languages, the Catawba, the Cherokee, and the Muskhogee, besides the different dialects of the same region enumerated, which are ascertained to be six. There are several nations in Louisiana conjectured to have distinct languages.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE NATIVE TRIBES IN THE INTERIOR OF NORTH AMERICA BETWEEN THE MISSISSIPPI AND THE CHAIN OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

SECTION I.—*General Statement.*

THE native races of the interior of North America are briefly enumerated by Mr. Gallatin under the following heads.

1. The great family of the Sioux, or nations who speak languages akin to the Dahcota or Nawdowessies. These tribes were thought by Heckewelder to have a remote affinity to the Iroquois or Six Nations. By Mr. Gallatin they are set down as a distinct race.

2. The Pawnees on the River Platte, who speak a language altogether different from that of the Sioux or any other Americans known to us, unless that of the Panis or Towiaches of Red River should be found the same. They consist of two nations, the Pawnees proper, and the Ricaras or Aricas, sometimes called the Black Pawnees.

3 & 4. The Fall Indians and the Rapid or Paunch Indians, improperly called Minetarees of the prairie, two wandering and purely hunting nations, who have their principal seats on the south fork of the Saskachawan.

5. The Black-feet, one of the most powerful and numerous nations of North America. They are intimately connected with the Rapid Indians, but speak a distinct language.

The tribes called Paegans or Blood Indians are subdivisions of the Black-feet.

6. Various tribes formerly included under the designation of Paducas, who wander between the upper waters of the

Platte and the Red River, west of the Pawnees and of the Kansas and Osages. The two last are branches of the Sioux nation. In that department of which little is known, the following nations are mentioned by Mr. Gallatin:—1. Panis or Towiaches of Red River; 2. Hietans or Cumanches, in the Mexican dominions; 3. Kaskaias or Bad Hearts; 4. Keawas or Kioways; 5. the Bald Heads.

SECTION II.—*Of the Sioux.*

The Sioux are probably the most numerous as they are the most widely extended race in the interior of North America. They were known at an early period to the Canadian settlers, and are described by French writers as forming one of the greatest nations of the New World. "The Sioux," says Charlevoix, "are the most numerous people in New France. Nobody knows how far they extend. They dwell commonly in meadows under large tents made of skins, which are very well wrought, and live on wild oats, which grow in great plenty in their meadows, and by hunting the buffalo. They have no fixed abode, but travel in great companies like the Tartars, never stopping in any place longer than they are detained by the chase."* Late inquiries into the history of American languages have shown that several tribes are allied to the Sioux race who were formerly regarded as distinct nations.†

The whole family of the Sioux nations is divided by Mr. Gallatin into four departments or separate stems. These are, 1. Winebagos; 2. the Sioux proper or Dahcotas, and the Assiniboins; 3. the Minetari and tribes allied to them; 4. the Osages and other kindred tribes in Southern Louisiana.

1. The Winebagos, known by that name among the Eng-

* Charlevoix, i. p. 280.

† Heckewelder indeed says that the languages of the Sioux and the Iroquois are cognate: this, he says, is quite evident on the comparison of vocabularies. It is difficult to form an opinion on this subject from the specimens of languages yet published. It does not appear to have been Mr. Gallatin's opinion that the languages of the Sioux are connected with the Iroquois.

lish, who derived it from the Algonquins, are the Puans of the French: among themselves they are called *Hochungohrah*, or the Trout Nation. Their abode is on the Fox River of Lake Michigan, and thence northward to the Winconsin. They are about 4600 souls.

2. The Sioux proper or Nandowessies, who call themselves Dahcota, and sometimes the "Seven Fires," are divided into seven tribes. They occupy extensive tracts on the Upper Mississippi and on St. Peter's River, and some extending as far to the westward as the Missouri. The four most eastern tribes of the Dahcotas are called "Gens du Lac," or "People of the Leaves." The first of these cultivate the land in a country eastward of the Mississippi, extending through three degrees of north latitude, viz. from 43° to 46°, or from the Prairie du Chien to the Spirit Lake. The western tribes are the Yanktons, Yanktoanans, and the Tetons. It is believed that the whole Sioux nation amounts to about 20,000 souls. The Assiniboins or Stone Indians are a detached body of the Sioux who live on the Red River of Lake Winnipeg. The Shyennes have also been taken for Sioux, but it is reported that they have a peculiar language.

The Sioux are a people of singular and interesting character, and they preserve the original habits of the North American aborigines much more than the eastern races. Carver, who travelled in their country a hundred years ago, drew a lively picture of their manners. The missionary Heckewelder supposed their language to be distantly allied to the Iroquois; but in this he is not supported by later writers. "The Dahcotas," says Professor Keating, who travelled in their country some years since, "are a large and powerful nation of Indians, and distinct in their manners, language, habits, and opinions from the Chippewas, Sauks, Foxes, and Nahiawah or Kilisteno, as well as from all other nations of the Algonquin stock. They are likewise unlike the Pawnees and the Minitaris or Gros Ventres." Major Pike says: "Their guttural pronunciation, high cheek-bones, their visages, and distinct manners, together with their own traditions, supported by the testimony of neighbouring nations, put it in my mind beyond the shadow of a doubt, that

they have emigrated from the north-west point of America, to which they had come across the narrow straits which in that quarter divide the two continents, and are absolutely descendants of a Tartar tribe."

Pike must, however, have been mistaken in one respect, for we are assured by Professor Keating that the Dahcotas have no tradition of ever having emigrated from any other place: they believe that they were created by the Supreme Being on the lands which they at present occupy.

3. The third branch of this family of nations are the Minetari; their language is of the same stock, though remotely connected with the Dahcota.

Among the Minetari nation are included three tribes,—the Mandans, a small tribe, the Stationary Minetari, and the tribe called Crow Indians. The proof that these three tribes are of one kindred, and that allied to the race of Sioux, is to be found in the affinity of their languages, of which full evidence has been adduced by Mr. Gallatin. The moral and physical history of these several tribes presents some most curious traits. The Mandans, being of lighter complexion than their neighbours, are supposed by many to have given rise to the story of Welsh Indians in North America. They have among them a singular tradition as to their origin: they say that they came from under ground by means of a great vine, which, breaking under the weight of some of them, has left behind a part of their nation, whom they expect to join after death. Of the Mandans and Minitaris we have some striking and remarkable details in the graphic description of Mr. Catlin.

4. The fourth division of the Sioux race comprehends several nations spread through the southern parts of the great Missourian valley, and inhabiting the banks of rivers which flow into its channel. They are the Osages or Wausasha on the River Osage, the Kansas, the Ioways, the Missouris, the Ottoes, the Omahaws or Mahaws, and the Puncas. The affinity of these nations to the Sioux has long been known. The Osages consider themselves as indigenous; but the tradition of the last five tribes is that they came from the north

together with the Sioux, Winibagos, who remained near Lake Michigan, while they proceeded further south.

Section III.—*The Pawnees.*

The Pawnees consist of two tribes.

1. The Pawnees proper inhabit the country on the River Platte, west of the Ottoes and Omahaws. Their three villages, two of which are distinguished by the names of Loup Pawnees and Republican Pawnees, are now in the same vicinity on the River Loup, a northern tributary of the River Platte, about sixty miles above the confluence of these two rivers. They raise corn and other vegetables, but apply still less to agriculture than the Ottoes and Omahaws. They hunt southerly as far as the Arkansa, and westerly to the sources of the River Platte. They were seen by Bourgmont in 1724 in the same country which they now occupy, but were not known to us before the acquisition of Louisiana. Their number by the concurrent accounts of General Pike and Major Long amounts to 6500 souls: their vocabulary was taken by Dr. Say.

2. The Ricara villages are situated on the Missouri about a hundred and fifty miles below the Mandans, in latitude 46½°. They cultivate the soil, and are, like the Mandans, always exposed to the attacks of the erratic tribes. They accordingly had formerly united with them, and were settled together twenty miles below the present site of the Mandan villages. They quarrelled and separated, since which time they have had also a short war with the United States. They appear now to be at peace with their neighbours, and are computed at 3000 souls. All the accounts of the Indians and of the interpreters agree in the fact of their speaking Pawnee, but have no vocabulary of their language.

Pike says "their language is guttural, and approaches nearer to that of the Sioux than the Osage: their figure," he adds, "is slim, and their high cheek-bones clearly indicate their Asiatic origin." "Their government is the same as that

of the Osages, an hereditary aristocracy," or rather, an hereditary limited monarchy. " They are not so cleanly as the Osage."

Many particulars respecting the history of the Pawnees are given by Mr. James, in his account of the expedition under Major Long. They are divided into three tribes. One of these, the Pawnee Loups, exhibited heretofore the singular anomaly amongst the American nations of a people addicted to the superstitious rite of making propitiatory offerings of human victims to Venus, the *Great Star*. This solemn ceremony was performed annually, and immediately preceded the operations of planting maize, beans, and pumpkins, the crops of which were supposed to fail if it was neglected.

It appears from Mr. James's account that the Pawnees have the art of preserving the memory of events by means of hieroglyphic paintings or picture writing.

Section IV.—*The Fall or Rapid Indians.*

The Fall or Rapid Indians, so termed because they live near the falls or rapids of the Saskachawan River, are called by the French " Gross Ventres," without reason, since they have nothing peculiar in their bodily make answering to this name. Pike called them by mistake Minetarees of the Yellow-Stone River, to which stream their hunting grounds extend. They are found between the Saskachawan and the Missouri. They have three hundred lodges and are reckoned at 3000 souls. The Arrapahoes are a detached tribe of this nation, who have wandered as far south as the Platte and Arkansa rivers.*

* See Gallatin's Synopsis, 132. Umfreville's present State of the Hudson's Bay Company, p. 197. Vater, Mithridates, 3 Th. 3 Abth. S. 255.

Section V.—*The Black-feet Indians.*

The region lying to the westward of the Minetari and between that people and the Rocky Mountains, traversed by the southern branch of the Saskatchawn River, which descends from that chain towards Lake Winnipeg, and by the upper channel of the Missouri and Yellow-Stone rivers, are the buffalo plains inhabited by two Indian nations of distinct language, the Black-feet and the Rapid or Fall Indians. The Black-feet are a very powerful and numerous people; they are estimated at 30,000 souls. Mr. Catlin says that the Black-feet are one of the most numerous tribes. They occupy the whole country above the sources of the Missouri from the mouth of the Yellow-Stone River to the Rocky Mountains. They are fierce and warlike, and carry war among their enemies in every part of the Rocky Mountains. The Black-feet proper are divided into four bands or families as follows:—The Pa-e-guns, of 500 lodges; the Black-feet Band, of 450 lodges; the Blood Band, of 450 lodges; and the Small Rover, of 250 lodges.

Mr. Gallatin has had the kindness to communicate to me vocabularies of the languages of the Black-feet Indians, of the Crows or Upsarokas, and of the Gros Ventres or Rapid or Fall Indians, who call themselves Ahnenin. These vocabularies are in manuscript; they were collected since the publication of Mr. Gallatin's work by Mr. Mackenzie, a very intelligent man, who resides at the junction of the Yellow-Stone and the Missouri rivers as principal agent of the St. Louis American Fur Company, and who trades principally with these three nations. They appear to belong to three distinct families; but the Crows speak a dialect decidedly cognate to that of the Sedentary Minetaris and Mandans, confirming the opinion of Mr. Gallatin that this tribe belongs to the great Sioux family.

SECTION VI.—*The Paducas and various Nations on the Red River and other countries in Louisiana.*

It seems that several different nations have been described under the name of Paducas, as the Ietans, Hietans, or Cumanches, the Kiawas, and Utas, who, according to Pike, speak the same language as the Paducas, and are doubtless of the same race. These three nations thus form one great people, the tribes of which are spread over a great extent of country. The name of Paduca belongs to the whole race collectively. It is the term given them by their neighbours the Pawnees.

Their chief positions are indicated by Pike. The Kiawas wander about the sources of the River Platte; they possess immense herds of horses, and are at war with the Pawnees and Ietans, as well as with the Sioux. The Utahs wander on the sources of the Rio del Norte. The Ietans are a powerful nation, entirely erratic, without any attempt at cultivation, subsisting solely by the chase. Their wanderings are confined to the frontiers of New Mexico on the west, the nations of the Lower Red River on the south, the Pawnees and Osage on the east, and the Utahs, Kiawas, and various unknown nations towards the north. Pike says the Utahs and Kiawas reside in the mountains of North Mexico, and the Ietans on the borders of the Upper Red River, Arkansa, and Rio del Norte.

In the high countries, round the sources of the Platte, Arkansa, and Red Rivers, tribes of the Kiawa and Kaskaia nation wander in pursuit of the herds of bisons, without any fixed dwelling. "These Indians," as Mr. James informs us, "differ in many particulars from those of the Missouri. Their average stature appears to be less considerable, and though the general appearance of the countenance is similar, yet their faces have, perhaps, somewhat more latitude, and the Roman nose is obviously less predominant; but still the direction of the eye, the prominence of the cheek-bones, the form of the lips, teeth, chin, and retreating forehead, are precisely similar."

"The hair," he adds, "in its structure and colour is not distinguished from that of the Missouri Indians, though in early youth it is often of a much lighter colour, and a young man, of perhaps fifteen years of age, who visited us to-day, had hair decidedly of a flaxen hue, with a tint of dusky yellow."

These tribes, or at least the Kiawa, belong to the race of the Paducas. In the old maps of these countries we find a nation mentioned under the name of White Paducas, by which is probably indicated some deviation in the complexion of the race.

It appears that a deviation of a similar kind from the more common complexion of the American nations exists in the race of the Apaches, occupying the mountainous regions of northern or New Mexico. To this kindred belong the Lee Panis, who, according to Pike, rove from the Rio Grande to some distance into the province of Texas. "Their former residence," he says, "was on the Rio Grande, near the sea-shore." The mountainous region approaches near to the coast.. "The Lee Panis," adds the same traveller, "are divided into three bands. They have *fair hair*, and are generally handsome. They are armed with bows, arrows, and lances."

Section VII.—*Of the physical and moral Characters of the Sioux and Missourian Nations in general.*

The nations of the interior of America to the westward of the Mississippi are more barbarous than the eastern nations of the same race. We are assured by Mr. Gallatin that "the only agricultural tribes to the westward of the Mississippi are the Sauks and Foxes of the Algonquin race to the northward of the Red River, the Pawnees, and among the nations of the Sioux family only three, which belong to the southern groupe, besides the Mandans and the Stationary Minetari. The six western tribes of the Dahcotas, the Assiniboins, the Crows, and all the other tribes as yet enumerated, whether east or west of the Rocky Mountains, cultivate nothing whatever; and those east of the Rocky Mountains subsist principally on the meat of the buffalo. But whether

erratic or agricultural, there is a marked difference between the habits and character of all the Indians who dwell amidst the dense forest which extends from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and those of the inhabitants of the western prairie. These are every where less ferocious than those of the eastern side of the Mississippi and the inhabitants of the western prairie. Like all savages, they put to death the prisoners taken in battle; but the horrid practice of inflicting on them the most excruciating torture for days together does not appear to have prevailed anywhere beyond the Mississippi." These observations seem, however, to apply more forcibly to the southern cultivating tribes of the Sioux family and to the Pawnees. Dr. Say, during his residence among the Omahaws, collected some important facts, which are equally applicable to their neighbours on the south of the Missouri, of either of these two families.

"They reside in their village at most five months in the year, principally for the purpose of planting, cultivating, and gathering maize and a few other vegetables. Two winter months are employed by the men in hunting beaver and other fur animals. During the rest of the year the whole population remove to the buffalo grounds, subsist on its meat, and preserve a portion of it.

"They address prayers to Wahconda, the creator and preserver of the world, to whom they ascribe infinite power and omnipresence. But although they believe in a future life, it cannot be said that this vague belief has any important influence over their conduct. Like all the other Indians, they put more faith in their dreams, omens, and jugglers, in the power of imaginary deities of their own creation, and of their consecrated relics, to which the Canadians have given the singular appellation of *medicine*."

The Missouri Indians of the male sex exceed in height the ordinary average of the Europeans; but the women are in proportion shorter and thicker. The average facial angle is 78°, that of the Cherokees being 75°. The transverse line of direction of the eyes is rectilinear,—the nose aquiline,—the lips thicker than those of the Europeans, the cheek-bones prominent but not angular. The recently born infants are of

a reddish brown colour, which after a while becomes whiter, and then gradually assumes that tint which is not perfectly uniform among all the Indians, and which for want of a better approximation we call copper colour. They designate that of the Europeans by words which mean *white* or *pale*. Theirs is not the effect of exposure, as all parts of the body present the same appearance. The women marry very young, bear children from the age of thirteen to forty, and have generally from four to six.

The Mandans are a branch of the same stock as the Dahcotas, but there is much difference between these nations with respect to their physical character. The following is Mr. Catlin's account of the last-mentioned tribe of the Sioux family of nations, fancied to be the descendants of Prince Madoc's Welsh army. The account of their physical characters is very remarkable. They differ considerably from those of the Sioux and other tribes of the race, and display some of the most singular variations. Mr. Catlin says:—

"In the Mandan village a stranger is struck at once by the different shades of complexion and various colours of hair which he sees around him, and is at once almost disposed to exclaim that these are not Indians."

"There are a great many of these people whose complexions appear as light as half-breeds; and amongst the women particularly there are many whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry and proportion of features, with hazel, with grey, and with blue eyes; with mildness and sweatness of expression and excessive modesty of demeanour, which render them exceedingly pleasing and beautiful.

"Why this diversity of complexion I cannot tell, nor can they themselves account for it; their traditions, so far as I have learned them, afford no information of their having had any knowledge of white men before the visit of Lewis and Clarke made to their village thirty-three years ago. Since that time there have been but very few visits from white men to this place, and surely not enough to have changed the complexions and customs of a nation. And I recollect perfectly well that Governor Clarke told me before I started from

this place, that I would find the Mandans a strange people and half white.

" The diversity in the colour of the hair is equally as great as that in the complexion, for in a numerous groupe of these people (and more particularly amongst the females, who never take pains to change its natural colour as the men often do) there may be seen every shade and colour of hair that can be seen in our own country, with the exception of red or auburn, which is not to be found.

" And there is yet one more strange and unaccountable peculiarity, which can probably be seen no where else on earth, nor on any rational grounds accounted for, other than it is a freak or order of nature for which she has not seen fit to assign a reason. There are very many of both sexes and of every age, from infancy to manhood and old age, with hair of a bright silvery grey, and in some instances almost perfectly white.

" This singular and eccentric appearance is much oftener seen among the women than it is among the men; for many of the latter who have it seem ashamed of it and artfully conceal it by filling their hair with glue and black and red earth. The women, on the other hand, seem proud of it and display it often in an almost incredible profusion, which spreads itself over their shoulders and falls as low as the knee. I have ascertained on a careful inquiry that about one in ten or twelve of the whole tribe are what the French call *cheveux gris* or grey hairs, and that this strange and unaccountable phenomenon is not the result of disease or habit, but that it is unquestionably an hereditary character, which runs in families and indicates no inequality in disposition or intellect. And by passing this hair through my hands, as I often have, I have found it uniformly to be as coarse and harsh as a horse's mane, differing materially from the hair of other colours, which among the Mandans is generally as fine and soft as silk."

CHAPTER VIII.

NATIVE TRIBES OF THE COUNTRIES IN THE WESTERN PARTS OF NORTH AMERICA.

SECTION I.— *Countries to the Northward of Mexico.*

THE knowledge of the countries in North America beyond the territory of the United States is comparatively very limited. The researches of Anglo-American philologers have been for the most part devoted to the history of tribes within the boundaries of the States. But as the territory of the great republic is now extending itself towards the south and west, there is no doubt that a few years will make us acquainted with the divers nations and languages existing in the wide regions to the northward of Mexico and to the westward of the Rocky Mountains. At present it is impossible to distribute these nations into families with any thing like accuracy, especially in the countries of New California and New Mexico. I shall only attempt to collect some brief notices of the tribes to the southward of the Columbia. To the northward of that river we have, through the medium of some late writers who have visited the settlements on the coast, somewhat better though still very imperfect information.

The old intendancies of Zapatecas and Guadalaxara lie under a line drawn from the river of Tampico to the mouth of the Rio Grande on the coast of the Pacific, where the continent of Central America begins to widen towards the north. To the northward of this line are the territories included by the Spaniards under the name of "Provincias Internas Occidentales." These provinces were Durango or New Biscay and New Mexico, mostly to the eastward of the line of the Rocky

Mountains, and Sonora, formerly called New Navarre, to the westward of that chain, and between it and the Gulf of California. The extensive region to the north-west of the Rio Colorado, which falls from the north-east into the northern extremity of the gulf, is called New California.

The intendancy of Durango comprehends the northern extremity of the great table-land of Mexico, which declines to the north-east towards the banks of the Rio Grande del Norte. The environs of the city of Durango are still, however, said to be elevated 6561 feet above the level of the ocean. This great elevation of land continues northward as far as Chihuahua, nearly to the latitude of New Orleans. It is a part of the broad extension of the Cordillera, which in the north of Mexico bears the name of Sierra Madre. In the latitude of Guanaxuato, the Potosi of Mexico, which is situated near the middle of the continent about three degrees to the northward of Mexico, the Sierra Madre has its greatest breadth. It may here be considered as sending out two branches, while the main body of the Sierra, that is, the central chain of the Mexican Andes, occupies the whole extent of the intendancy of Zacatecas. The eastern branch loses itself in the province of New Leon. The western branch occupies part of the territory of Guadalaxara, and then, stretching northward through the intendancy of Sonora by Culiacan, reaches the banks of the Rio Gila. In Tarahumara, near the Gulf of California, under the 30th degree of north latitude, it throws up the high mountains of Pimeria Alta, celebrated for the gold dust washed down by its rivers, and for the masses of pure gold which are found in its ravines and even in the neighbouring plains. The numerous race of the Pimas who inhabit these mountains follow the Catholic ritual and live under the domination of missionaries. Pimeria is the most northerly part of the province of Sonora, and reaches to the lower course of the Rio Gila. The sources of this river are far to the north-east, near to those of the Rio del Norte in the central chain of the Sierra Madre or Cordillera, which runs northward from Guanaxuato to Durango, and thence to the mountains of Cranes and the Sierra Verde under the 40th degree of north latitude. This central tract

of mountainous country, which sends forth great rivers towards either ocean, was traversed in 1773 by the enterprising travellers Fathers Font and Garces.

The principal Indian nations on the eastern declivity of this high region in the plains intervening between the Rio del Norte and the Red River, are barbarous tribes of Apaches and Cumanches, who are mortal enemies to each other. The Apaches are furthest towards the west in the wild ravines of the Sierra de Acha, whence, divided under the different names of Apaches, Mimbreños, Mescaleros, Fardones, they are spread over the Bolson de Mapimi and the mountains of Chanate and Organos on the left bank of the Rio del Norte. Other tribes of Apaches, under the name of Indios de la Paz, are attached to the soil and cultivate fields of maize. The Cumanches and the numerous tribes of Chichimecas, equally barbarous, are comprehended by the Spaniards under the vague name of Mecos. Like the Patagonians, they tame the horses which here run wild in their plains and infest the peacable inhabitants of New Biscay. It is only to the westward of the Cordillera that the traces of higher culture can be discovered, and there only in particular spots.

At the northern extremity of the Gulf of California the two great rivers, the Rio Gila and the Rio Colorado, fall by one estuary into the sea. The Gila flows in a south-westerly direction from the Cordillera; the Colorado, of which the Yaquesila is a tributary, arises from a source further towards the north. The intendancy of Sonora occupies, as we have observed, nearly all the country lying between the Cordillera and the Californian Gulf, and reaches northwards from Guadalaxara almost to the River Gila. This country is estimated by Humboldt as equal to the half of France. It is divided into three provinces, Sinaloa, Ostemary, and Sonora proper. Its three principal rivers, not including the Gila, which is not within the intendancy, are the Culiacan, the Mayo, and the Yaqui or Sonora. Pimeria is the most northern portion of the province. To the southward of the Rio Gila, at the distance of one league, are the ruins of the Casas Grandes. Father Francis Garces, accompanied by Father Font, entrusted with the observations of latitude, here discovered in the midst

of a vast and beautiful plain the ruins of an ancient Aztec city, in the midst of which is the edifice called Casa Grande, or the "Great House."* This building is 445 feet in length, and 270 in breadth, and has three stories and a terrace: the walls are of clay. A wall, interrupted by large towers, surrounds the principal edifice. This was supposed by Clavigero to have been the second of the stations in the march of the Aztecas.† The first station, or that of the fabulous lakes of Aztec historians, is placed in a populous Indian village in the territory of the Moqui, traversed by the Rio Yaquesila, with well-peopled Indian villages, with two public squares and houses of several stories and streets with parallel lines. The natives of this country, near which the Yaquesila flows, have long beards like the Ainos or inhabitants of Tarakai in Eastern Asia. They are called Yabipais; their language differs essentially from the Aztecan. The Moqui reside in towns and villages containing two or three thousand inhabitants. They are clothed, and their houses have several stories and terraces, and are said to be constructed in the same manner as the Casas Grandes and the houses of ancient Mexico.‡

Within the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora a great number of native tribes are found whose languages differ among themselves. They are enumerated by Vater according to the information furnished by the missionaries. Ribas assures us that all the languages of Sinaloa contain many words resembling the Mexican. Of such words, he says that he could furnish a long list. These languages, however, differ in grammatical structure from the Aztecan.§

Mr. Gallatin says that no trace of the Mexican language has been discovered in any part of the region intervening

* Among these ruins remains of porcelain and looking-glasses of obsidian have been found: the buildings contained stories and beams of pine, well cut. Clavigero, book ii.

† The Mexican historians place the first station of the Aztecas on the banks of two lakes, perhaps fabulous, of Teguayo and Timpanogos. The second station is supposed to coincide with the Casas Grandes. See Von Humboldt's Travels in the New Continent, vol. vi., p. 320.

‡ Vater, Th. 4, S. 180.

§ Compare Vater, Th. 4. p. 143; and Humboldt, Polit. Essay, vol. i. p. 134.

between Mexico and the Rio Gila.* Castenada mentions three languages in the vicinity of Culiacan, the Tahu, the Pacasa, and the Atasca. A grammar exists of the Tarahumara. This last has not in its words any affinity with the Mexican, and the people who speak it have a decimal arithmetic. Mr. Gallatin infers that the Indian tribes of New Mexico and the countries to the southward of it, at least as far as Culiacan, were not of the same family or stock as the Mexicans or Toltecs, though they must have received their agriculture from those nations.*

Section II.—*North American Races to the Westward of the Rocky Mountain Chain.*

A great part of the information that we possess respecting the nations and languages to the northward of the Columbia River is contained in a memoir on the north-western races of America contributed by Professor Scouler, who has travelled in the countries of the Oregon, to the eleventh volume of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. We have likewise obtained some additional assistance from Mr. Wilkes's Narrative of the Exploring Voyage of the United States.

* The well-known extent and accuracy of Mr. Gallatin's information entitle his opinion to the highest regard. Professor Vater, however, thought the Cora, which is spoken by the natives of the Mission of Nayarit, to be undoubtedly allied to the Mexican. His information as to the Cora was derived from a work of Father Jos. de Ortega, entitled 'Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Cora,' Mexico, 1732. Ortega thought the Mexican words existing in the Cora were adopted by the Cora people from the Mexicans, but in so remote a period that they passed for genuine Cora words. Vater combated this opinion. He considered the relations between the Cora and the Mexican as extending to grammatical affinity. Vater found many verbal resemblances between the Tarahumara and the Mexican, which, he says, are sufficient to excite suspicion of a connection of origin between the races who spoke these languages, or at least of the influence of some tribes who may have moved towards the north from Mexico. But this resemblance does not extend, as in the case of the Cora, to a grammatical analogy in regard to the terminal forms of words. See Vater in Mithridates, 3 Theil. 3 Abtheil. S. 129–150.

Clavigero says that the Eudeve and Opata in Pimeria resemble the Tarahumara so closely that the people are undoubtedly of one race.

Tribes belonging to the family of the Esquimaux occupy the northern portion of the western coast of America. Their settlements reach southwards as far as Prince William's Sound, or as the vicinity of Mount St. Elias, about 60° N. L. If we trace the coast southwards from this point to the extremity of California, we shall find that it is divided into two nearly equal parts by the River Columbia. That river is the only great stream that is known to take its rise in the Rocky Mountains or Cordillera of North America, and to discharge its waters into the Pacific Ocean. It flows through and bisects the whole western low land, the region intercepted between the Rocky Mountains and the sea. The native population of this region on both sides of the Columbia will form the subject of the present and the following sections.

The whole length of this region from Mount St. Elias to the mouth of the Rio Gila in the Gulf of California is about 28 degrees of latitude, or 1680 leagues. Its breadth varies: in the 35th and 40th degrees of north latitude it is supposed to be about 900 miles wide; in the latitude of the Columbia River it becomes narrower. The inland part of it lying nearer to the feet of the Rocky Mountains is separated from the narrower strip of land which runs along the coast by long chains, which are supposed to be mostly continuous, of inferior mountains. These inferior elevations appear to take their rise to the northward from the clusters of hills near Mount St. Elias. Thence they take their course about a hundred miles from the sea, and run southwards in a line almost parallel to the coast:* from these hills the various rivers have their rise which flow into the Pacific between the limits above defined, with the exception of the Columbia, a greater stream, which, as I have said, comes from the Rocky Mountain chain. They bear different names in different latitudes: near the River Columbia they are designated in maps as the Cascade range; further southward, in the

* Synopsis of the Indian tribes within the territories of the United States, and in the British and Russian Possessions in North America, by the Hon. Albert Gallatin, in the second volume of the Archæologia Americana, p. 14.

latitude of Cape Mendocino, they are termed the Mountains of California or the Californian range. In an ethnographical point of view these intermediate chains of mountains are important, as they separate the tribes of the sea-coast or the maritime nations of north-western America from tribes of the interior, who reach towards the Rocky Mountains, and who are generally different races and people of different habits from the nations of the coast. The inland tribes occupy the whole space of land intercepted between the lower chains of hills above described and the high Cordillera of North America. In many instances they are branches of some of the great hunting nations of the Rocky Mountains. Their country is of considerable elevation: the land about Fort Colville on the Columbia River is said, for example, to be 2200 feet above the level of the sea.* Parts of these inland tracts are intersected by numerous streams, many of which fall into the Columbia, and from which a plentiful supply of salmon is easily procured. Hence the inland tribes of north-western America are much less exclusively devoted to the chase than the hordes who wander to the east of the Cordillera and live chiefly on the flesh of the buffalo, the herds of which have not made their way to the western side of the great mountain-chain.†

I shall now enumerate the inland tribes as far as I can collect their names and history, and in a following section I shall proceed to the tribes of the sea-coast.

Section III.—*Inland Tribes to the westward of the Rocky Mountain Chain.*

The most northern tribe of which we have any account in this inland country are the Takalli, who are termed Carrier Indians. They are a branch of the great family of the Athapascas, who are here conterminous with the Esquimaux in this as in other parts of North America, the boundary line between these two races running across the whole continent

* Exploring Expedition, vol. iv.

† Professor Scouler, Journal of Geogr. Soc. vol. xi.

from a point as yet undetermined, behind the country of the maritime tribes to the western shore of Hudson's Bay. Mr. Gallatin reckons them among the Athapascan tribes; and we are assured by the commander of the United States Exploring Expedition that the Carriers speak the Chepeyan or Athapascan language. They do not reach to the Pacific, but are engaged in perpetual contests with the tribes of the sea-coast about Fort Simpson, opposite Dixon's Entrance at the extremity of Queen Charlotte's Island. The head-waters of the Tacoutche Tesse or Fraser's River are in the country of the Carriers.

I have already mentioned the Takalli when describing the Athapascas. Some particulars of their history have been given by Captain Wilkes. To the eastward they border on the Sivoni, a nation of hunters living beyond the Rocky Mountains, who speak a dialect of the same language as the Carriers, but differ from them in character. The Carriers, though speaking the same language, differ in manners from all the Chepeyan tribes. They are described as of lighter complexion than the more southern tribes: their features are larger, especially those of the females. They resemble the Indians of the Columbia, but are a taller and better-looking race. Their habits are extremely filthy. They are a very debauched and sensual people, and their women are particularly unchaste: most of them are infected with syphilitic complaints. They feed chiefly on salmon, and some of them live in holes which they make in the earth. Like the other tribes they have medicine-men or conjurors who practise magical impostures.

2. To the southward of the Takalli are the Atnahs or Soushwap, who live in the country on the Fraser's and Thompson's Rivers, in the latitude of the Wakash or Vancouver's Island, as the Takalli are in the latitude of Queen Charlotte's Island.

We have very little information respecting the Atnahs. They were termed by Mackenzie the Chin tribe. They are briefly mentioned by that writer, who says that their language is distinct from those of the other nations. They inhabit the country about 52° 30′ N. L. to the southward of the Takalli,

and thence extend south along Fraser's River towards the Straits of Fuca.*

3. To the southward of the Atnahs is the tribe called Spokane or Flat-heads: they occupy the country on the Columbia about Fort Colville, at a distance from the coast and between the two chains of mountains.†

In their physical attributes the Spokane are intermediate, as we are informed,‡ between the tribes of the coast and those of the Rocky Mountains. In stature and proportions they are superior to the Lower Chenooks and the Chikeeles tribe, but inferior to the Nez Percés. They have more of social affection in their character than most of the American aborigines. The women have great authority among them, and in intermarriages between different tribes, which now often take place, the husband associates himself to the people to whom his wife belongs.

The number of persons who are said to speak the dialect of this race is estimated by the missionaries at 5,000.

4. The Shahaptan, or Saptin, or Nez Percés, occupy the country on the higher waters of the Saptan or Lewis's River to the south-east of the Spokane. The meaning of the name given to these people seems to be unknown. They are divided into two classes,—the Nez Percés proper, who inhabit the mountains, and the Polonches, who inhabit the plain country about the mouth of Snake River.§ The Kliketat, who live near Mount Rainier and about the falls of the Columbia, and the Okanagan near the upper waters of Fraser's River, are offsets of this tribe and speak dialects of the same language. The Kawitchen tribe are apparently a mixed people descended from the Shahaptans and Nootkans, as they are intermediate in situation.‖

5. The Walla-Walla are a tribe living near the river Walla-Walla, which falls from the southward into the Columbia. The following is a brief account of this race and of the Rayouse Indians in their neighbourhood, communicated by Dr. Gairdner, who visited the country, to Dr. Scouler.

* Gallatin, p. 134.
† Wilkes, ubi supra.
‡ Exploring Expedition.
§ Gallatin's Synopsis, p. 256.
‖ Dr. Scouler, p. 225.

"The nations of the plain on the other side of the Rocky Mountains are celebrated for their warlike incursions on the Black-feet, Big-bellies, Ciries, and Piegans or Blood Indians on this side. Of these tribes the last are the most numerous. The Rayouse Indians are quite a different tribe from the Walla-Walla: they are stouter and more athletic, and generally six feet high. They have a dignity in their gait and a gravity in their demeanour not possessed by the latter. They consider it a degradation to marry a Walla-Walla woman, though the Walla-Walla men make frequent marriages with the Rayouse women. The Rayouse do not muster more than 78 men; the Walla-Wallas, including women and children, about 200."

"I attended the religious services of the Walla-Wallas. The whole tribe were assembled in the craal, squatted on their hams: the chief men, arranged in a circle, officiated. The assembly were turned towards this circle. The service began by the chiefs making a short address, which was repeated by a man on his left hand. This was followed by a prayer: at certain intervals there was a pause, when all present uttered a groan. After the prayer the congregation joined in singing hymns. The airs were simple, resembling the monotonous Indian song while paddling their canoes. All kept good time. The hymns were succeeded by a prayer, and then the service ended. I was struck with the earnestness and reverence of the whole assembly. All eyes were fixed on the ground, and I did not see one turned towards us. It is about five years since these things found their way among the Indians of the Upper Columbia."* No further account is given of the channel through which these people were brought to practise the rites of religious worship.

6. The Shoshones or Snake Indians are a widely scattered tribe in the country about the southern branch of the Saptan or Lewis River, which runs from the southward to fall into the channel of the Columbia. Some assert that they are of the same race as the Cumanches, whose separation from them is said to be still remembered by the Shoshones. The Snake

* Dr. Gairdner on the Columbia River, Geogr. Journ. vol. ii. p. 257.

Indians inhabit countries on both sides of the Rocky Mountains and the districts near the sources of the river Missouri. They are described by Lewis and Clarke as a people remarkable for their lean and squat bodies and for their high cheek-bones. "It has been ascertained," says Captain Wilkes, "that the Cumanches and the Shoshones speak the same language. Hunters report that the proper country of the Shoshones is to the eastward of Youta Lake, but they are found in many and in distant places: the largest branch of them is near Fort Boise on the Snake River to the northward of the Bonachs. They have horses and fire-arms. Their subsistence is by fishing and partly from the chase. A particular tribe who have no horses and are very poor and destitute, are said to live on roots: they are called 'Diggers.'"*

7. The Bonachs, who are to the southward of the Shoshones, resemble them in character and habits, but they are a more valiant people than the Shoshones, with whom they are always at war. They inhabit the country between Fort Boise and Fort Hall. Their particular enemy is the tribe of Cayuses.

8. Two tribes speaking a cognate language are the Kalapooiah in the fertile plains on the Walla-mat, and the Yamkallie near the sources of the same river. The Umpqua nation, or the tribes on the Umpqua River towards New California, are supposed to belong to this family, as well as the Cathlascon tribes on the Columbia.

9. The Sampiches are a tribe wandering in the desert to the south of Youta lake. They resemble the Diggers or poorer Snakes, and their language is said to be that of the Shoshones.

10. The Youtas live between the Snake and Green Rivers. They resemble the Diggers, but are said to have a peculiar language.

The barren country between the Youta Lake and the Californian mountains is inhabited by people speaking the language of the Bonachs.

11. Monquoi or Monkey Indians are a very remarkable

* Wilkes, Exploring Expedition.

and curious people in Captain Wilkes's account. Their description has an air of romance, but it is substantiated, as Captain Wilkes assures us, by people who have travelled in the direction of their country. Few have seen them except the hunters of Mr. Walker's party who were with Captain Bonneville. They are reported to live in fastnesses in the mountains to the south-west of Youta Lake: there they have good clothing and houses, and manufacture blankets, shoes, and various other articles, which they sell to the neighbouring tribes.

Their colour is as light as that of the Spaniards, and their women in particular are very beautiful, with delicate features and long flowing hair. They are said to be very neat in their persons, dignified and decorous in their manners, and exceedingly modest. Some say they are the Welsh Indians of Prince Madoc's army; others that they are descended from the Monquoi of Lower California, who were partially civilised by the Spaniards. Their history is unknown, but in the opinion of the intelligent and judicious narrator of the United States Exploring Expedition "there appears to be but little doubt that a small tribe exists in this region of different habits and manners from those who surround them."*

It seems that these tribes are gradually moving southward, the northern encroaching on the southern. The country of the present Black-feet is known to have been formerly occupied by the Snakes, and that now occupied by the Snakes formerly belonged to the Bonachs, who have been driven into the sandy desert. The Kiniwas and the Cumanches have undergone a similar expulsion. The motive is the exhaustion of game and the emigration of the buffalo to the east. None of these animals are now found west of the Youta Lake. Several years ago they betook themselves to the country nearer the Rocky Mountains. The space between the former lake and the Rocky Mountains is now the great buffalo country frequented by the Nez Percés, Bonachs, Snakes, and Flat-heads, where these latter frequently engage with the Crows and Black-feet.†

* Wilkes, ubi supra. † Ibid.

Section IV.—*Tribes of the Sea-coast.*

Paragraph 1.—Northern Tribes of the Western Coast of America.

The tribes of native Americans who inhabit the sea-coast from the country of the Esquimaux to California are divisible, according to Dr. Scouler, into two classes or groupes, which are termed by that writer the northern and southern family. The northern family extend through Sitka and all the Russian settlements on the coast from the Esquimaux, and reach as far southward as the northern extremity of Quadra or Vancouver's Island. The southern family are spread from thence to the borders of Upper California. I shall begin with the northern division.

The more northern tribes of this family inhabit the territory on the western coast claimed by the Russians. They are enumerated by Baer, who is cited by Wrangell, under the names of Koloshes, Ugalentzes, Atnas, Kolchans, and Kenáies. The Tun Ghaase, says Dr. Scouler, are the most northern tribe known to English fur-traders: they are a small tribe in the south-east corner of Prince of Wales's archipelago. They are the bravest people and the best hunters on the coast. According to Mr. Tolmie, surgeon to the Hudson's Bay Company, who has resided eight years on the coast, and whose statements have been cited with an assurance of their correctness by Dr. Scouler, the language of this tribe is nearly the same as that spoken at Sitka. Dr. Scouler says that all the tribes in the Russian territory belong to this one family, and their language appears from the scanty vocabulary given by Wrangell to be the same as that of the natives of Queen Charlotte's Island. The names of these tribes are differently spelt by Von Resanoff, who supplied Vater the materials for an accurate examination of their languages. The Kinai of Von Resanoff live in or near Cook's Inlet and River, and the Ugaljachmutzi in Prince William's

Sound.* Between these two tribes are the Tschugazzi, who are a tribe of Esquimaux. Their languages are akin to each other and must be considered as peculiar, though exhibiting some affinities with both the western Esquimaux and the Athapascas.†

The Koluschians are a more extensively spread race, apparently of the same stock. From Mount St. Elias, about 60° N. L. to Fuca's Straits in 48° or even to 55°, according to Mr. Gallatin, tribes are found on the mainland as well as on the islands, whose idioms are evidently dialects of one speech. This speech displays some affinities with the Mexican language. Similar affinities have been traced likewise in the language of the Ugaljachmutzi. But they are most decided in the idiom of the Kolusches. These remarkable peculiarities prevail in the language of the people of Queen Charlotte's Island in 52° N. L.‡ The Kolusches have been described, as we shall observe, in the works of many voyagers.

The people of this northern family, the Haidah or the natives of Queen Charlotte's Island, being considered as a specimen, are by far the best-looking, most intelligent, and energetic race on the north-western coast of America, and as Dr. Scouler observes, "contrast favourably in every respect with the southern tribes," whose description will follow. They are taller and stronger than the Nootkans, their limbs are better formed, their carriage is much bolder. They permit their mustachos to grow, and these become often as strong as those of Europeans. "Their natural complexion is as white as that of the people of Southern Europe." "Their women practise a deformity which is unknown among the southern tribes. An incision is made in the lower lip in a direction parallel to its length, and an oval piece of wood introduced into the wound is worn by them on all occasions. The custom of flattening the head, so common among the southern tribes, appears not to be known in any of the districts to the

* Vater, Mithridates, 3.

† This is the opinion of Dr. Latham, who has carefully collated the vocabularies of these languages.

‡ Gallatin's Synopsis, p. 14.

north of Quadra or of Vancouver's Island. The Indians of the northern family are remarkable for their ingenuity and mechanical dexterity in the construction of their canoes, houses, and different warlike or fishing implements. They construct drinking vessels, tobacco-pipes, &c. from a soft argillaceous stone, and these articles are remarkable for the symmetry of their form, and the exceedingly elaborate and intricate figures which are carved upon them. With respect to carving and a faculty for imitation, the Queen Charlotte's Islanders are equal to the most ingenious of the Polynesian tribes." *

The Haidah are a people belonging to this northern family, who inhabit Queen Charlotte's Island. The name of Haidah seems to extend to various tribes, the Massettes, the Skittegas, Cumshawas. " Since the sea-otter has been destroyed the Haidahs have become poor, and have been reduced to other plans in order to procure blankets. They fabricate most of the curiosities found on the coast, but their staple article is the potato, which they sell in great quantities to the mainland tribes. In the autumn there is quite a competition among the Haidahs who shall carry early potatoes to the mainland. Fleets of from forty to fifty canoes arrive early in September, and proceed to the different villages of the Chimmesyan nation, and the potato-fair seldom ends without more or less fighting. They also manufacture and export canoes, and are themselves very venturous on the deep. When they visit the mainland, they are bold and treacherous, and always ready for mischief." †

The numerous tribes who inhabit the islands and coast from Queen Charlotte's Island to 60° N. L. evidently belong to one family. " The points of similarity between them are numerous and unequivocal. They resemble each other in physical features and intellectual character: they are bold, industrious, and ingenious, when compared with the southern family. They differ also from the southern tribes in arbitrary customs: thus the practice of flattening the head is unknown among them, while the lip-ornament worn by the women of the

* Dr. Scouler, Geogr. Journal. † Dr. Scouler.

northern family is not used by any tribe to the south of Quadra and Vancouver's Island. The most decisive circumstance is, however, the near affinity of all the northern dialects." In as far as Dr. Scouler has obtained vocabularies, " it appears that the numbers and names of simple and familiar objects are often the same among all these tribes. It is true the language of the southern branch appears to be radically the same as that of the northern family; but at the same time it appears that the dialects of the northern section differ less from each other than any one of them does from the language spoken at Nootka Sound or on the banks of the Columbia." *

This northern family are the Kolushians, who will be described in the following pages.

Paragraph 2.—Tribes of the Southern Family. Nootka Columbians.

Dr. Scouler calls the second groupe of tribes Nootka-Columbians. He comprehends under this designation the tribes inhabiting Quadra or Vancouver's Island, and the adjacent coast of the main land as far the Columbia River, and perhaps as far as Umpqua River and the northern part of New Caledonia.

It has been observed by Dr. Scouler that the tribes of this last family are *intimately related* to those of the northern division *by affinity of language*, and many words common to the dialects of both. *Their language is radically the same as that of the northern groupe.* We shall find that these idioms display likewise a corresponding relation to the two great families of languages already mentioned, viz. to the Esquimaux on one side, and to the Mexican on the other.

The Nootka-Columbians are thus described by Dr. Scouler.

" They are of smaller stature than the northern tribes, and are usually fatter and more muscular: their cheek-bones are prominent, and their complexion, though light, has more of a copper hue. They appear to be more like the Esquimaux.

* Dr. Scouler, ibid.

They are more indolent, filthy, and inactive than the Haidah tribes. The legs of the women, especially those of the slaves, are often swollen as if œdematous, so that the leg appears of an uniform thickness from the ankle to the calf. This is attributed to an accidental cause. The limbs of both sexes are ill-formed, and the toes turned inwards as if they had been accustomed to be constantly on horseback. "This peculiarity, which I noticed," says Dr. Scouler, "in the people of the Columbia, had been long before observed among the natives of Nootka by Moziño." Both these writers attribute it to the mode in which children are swathed up and to the manner in which the men sit in their canoes.

The most remarkable physical peculiarity observed in this family is one produced by artificial means. The practice of flattening the head, unknown among the Haidah tribes, is universal among the Nootka-Columbians, and prevails along the north-west coast from Salmon River in lat. 53° 30′ N. to Umpqua River in 46° N.

"The process by which the head is compressed is very simple. Immediately after birth the child is placed in a sort of box or cradle, in which there is a small cushion to support the nape of the neck. The occiput rests on the flat board which forms the back of this cradle: a piece of board is attached by means of thongs, forming a hinge to the upper part of the board, and is brought into contact with the forehead and made fast by other thongs. This cradle and compressing machine is carried by the mother on her back wherever she goes, and the pressure is steadily applied to its head till the child is able to walk."

It seems that the chiefs and free men are alone permitted the distinction of thus disfiguring their children.

This custom, frequently observed in different parts of America, is on the north-western coast confined to the tribes comprehended under the name of Nootka-Columbians, of which race Dr. Scouler considers the tribe called Flat-heads on the Columbia to be a branch. The same habit prevailed, as he remarks, among the ancient Peruvians, and this observation is the more important as Professor Tiedemann and also Mr. Pentland have expressed an opinion that the flattened

skulls of Titicaca owed their singular configuration, not to art, but to a natural peculiarity. The skulls of Titicaca are flattened, not exactly in the same manner, but nearly in the same degree as the crania of the Nootkans and Chenooks. What seems to be conclusive on this question is that Garcilasso de la Vega, a native Peruvian and a descendant of the Incas, assures us that the practice of flattening the head was in vogue among the inhabitants of Canari, one of the countries annexed by the famous Tupac Yupanqui to the empire of the ancient Incas. The mode practised in Canari is described by Garcilasso, and Dr. Scouler says that the description of the process might apply equally to that used by the Chenooks of the Columbia.*

The southern, insular, or Nootka-Columbian groupe includes a greater number of tribes than the northern or Haidah family. The most northern tribes of the Nootka-Columbians are the Haeeltzuk and the Billechoola. The Billechoola inhabit the mainland, through which Mackenzie first reached the Pacific: the Haeeltzuk to the northward inhabit both the mainland and the northern entrance of Vancouver's Island. They are branches of one race.

The great island of Quadra or of Vancouver is inhabited by this race: this is proved by a comparison of vocabularies. This tribe reaches up the river into the interior of the mainland opposite Quadra. Another branch of the same stock spreads along the Gulf of Georgia and to the southward of the Columbia River. The principal tribes are the Kawitchen to the north of Fraser's River,—the Noosdalum of Hood's Canal,—the Squallyamish of Paget's Sound, and the Chenooks at the mouth of Columbia River, and the families of the Cathlascons towards the lower falls of the Columbia. All these tribes in language are plainly connected with the Nootkans and Haeeltzuk.

* For a more exact account of the process used by the Chenooks, Dr. Scouler refers to an able memoir by himself in the Zoological Transactions, vol. iv. Garcilasso's account is in the first volume of his great work entitled "Royal Commentaries of Peru."

SECTION V.—*Of the Languages of the Nations inhabiting the Western Coast of North America.*

It was long ago observed by Anderson, the intelligent companion of Captain Cook, and by the editor of Cook's last voyage, that the language of the people inhabiting Nootka displays some marks of connection with the Mexican. 'Opulszthl,' the Nootkan word for the sun, is compared with the name of the Mexican god, Huitzilopochtli. Anderson was struck by a resemblance in the terminations of words and in the frequent recurrence of the same consonants in the Mexican and the Nootkan. The same phenomenon attracted the attention of Baron A. Von Humboldt, who remarked that "on a careful comparison of the vocabularies collected at Nootka Sound and at Monterey, he was astonished at the resemblance of the sounds and the terminations of words to those of the Mexican: as, for example, in the language of Nootka, 'apquixitl' means *to embrace;* 'temextixitl,' *to kiss;* 'hitltzitl,' *to sigh;* 'tzitzimitl,' *earth;* 'inicoatzimitl' is the name of a month. Yet these languages are on the whole to be considered as essentially distinct, as it appears from the comparison of their numerals and other words."

Another relation not less curious is that which is observable between the idioms of the western coast of both the southern and northern divisions and the language of the Esquimaux. This was long ago remarked by Professor Vater. In the vocabulary given by Captain Cook of the language of the Nootkans, Vater discovered tokens of connection with the idiom of the Esquimaux in the extreme north on both the western and eastern sides of the American continent. Vater extended the same remark to the specimens of languages collected in other parts of the north-western coast.

These phenomena were sufficient to induce so indefatigable a philologist as Professor Vater to undertake a careful comparison of these languages, the results of which are very remarkable. It is equally remarkable that they have escaped the notice of almost every writer who has touched upon the

subject since the time of Professor Vater. Vater not only availed himself of all published documents extant, but he had likewise in his hands an extensive work in manuscript compiled by Von Resanoff in the Russian settlements, which contained copious information, both on the words and the grammatical forms of six of the languages of the western coast, three of which were Esquimaux dialects, and the three other idioms those of the Kinaitzi, the Ugaljachmutzi, and the Koluschians. These last are the most extensively spread nation of this part of the American sea-border. They are evidently the race designated by Dr. Scouler as the northern groupe among the tribes of the western coast. I shall collect the principal facts which bear on these two comparisons and state them separately.

Paragraph 1.—Observations made by Professor Vater on the Connection between the Mexican Languages and the Idioms of the Nations of the North-western Coast.

In commenting on the passage above cited from Humboldt, Vater has remarked that the termination in *tl* observed in Mexican words is in that language confined to nouns. In reality this ending seems to be used in the Mexican as an appendage to nouns, like the ος, ον, of the Greek, or the visarga of the nominative in Sanskrit substantives. On the other hand most of the Nootkan words quoted with this termination are verbs. However, the word *ag-coatl*, a young woman in Nootkan, more closely resembles *cou-atl*, the Mexican word for a woman. In the short vocabularies collected by Dixon, La Pérouse, and Vancouver, of the languages spoken from Norfolk Sound, or Sitka, to Behring's Bay, as well as in the dialect of Nootka, this peculiarity is frequently observable. In the more copious vocabularies collected in various parts of the coast since the Russian settlements on it, this termination is found not only in dialects of the Kolushians at Sitka, but likewise in the language of the Ugaljachmutzi near Mount St. Elias " it is so strikingly frequent, that, among the words, amounting to about twelve

hundred, collected by Von Resanoff, nearly the twelfth part of the whole, and these words of all descriptions, and not merely substantives, have *tl,* or sometimes *tli,* or *tle,* for their termination."*

" I was induced," says Dr. Vater, " by the probability of detecting further analogy to collate the vocabularies of the Mexican and the two languages above referred to. In less than two hundred words designating the same objects, I found twenty-six of the singularly formed polysyllables belonging to the Mexican language, which have a considerable resemblance to corresponding terms in the idioms either of the Ugaljachmutzi or the Kolushians, and appear with great probability to be derived from the same roots."

Paragraph 2. — Of the Relations of these North-western Coast Nations with the Esquimaux.

Vater observed that analogies may be traced between all these idioms and the language of the Esquimaux.

The following words, belonging to the idioms of the Kinai and Ugaljachmutzi, are compared by him with Esquimaux words.

	Esquimaux.	*Kinai.*	*Ugaljachmutzi.*
A small shell—Kadjak Esquimaux	kajak	kajachwak	
Eagle .... Tschugazzi	kotschkaljack		kutschkoljuk
Looseness, flux	anagocktok	nak-ode	
Pincers	pukschuchok	pukschuchna	
I (pronoun)	chui		chu
Speech ..... Kadjak	kanootschek	kanna	
Anchor	kischak	kitschak †	

In the additions to the first volume of the Mithridates published in 1817, there is a comparative vocabulary of the different dialects of the Esquimaux language in which a column is appropriated to the Kolushian. The words in this language are much more remote from the Esquimaux dialects

* Vater, 3 Theil, 3 Abtheil, S. 212. † Vater, ibid. S. 238.

than the latter are from each other; still a resemblance may be traced in many instances.

A vocabulary given by Vater from Resanoff in the Kolushian and Ugaljachmutzian idioms displays striking analogies. As the words belong to the most simple and universal class of vocables, their resemblance in these languages is of greater weight, and goes far towards proving an original and essential connection between the two dialects, one of which, viz. that of the Ugaljachmutzi, bears a decided resemblance in many words to the Esquimaux language.*

Section VI.—*Of the Physical History of the Tribes on the Sea-coast.*

From the facts already collected in the preceding sections, which will be farther borne out by what immediately follows, it seems that the western coasts of North America from the most southern positions of the genuine Esquimaux, about 80° N. L. to the borders of Upper California, are principally inhabited by two kindred races of people, the Kolushians and Nootkans. The former are the people well known to the Russians at Sitka, the principal Russian settlement: the latter have been longer known to Europeans at Nootka Sound, where they were visited by Captain Cook. To the northward of the Kolushians, who are the Northern-coast Indians of Dr. Scouler, are two tribes of lesser extent, the Ugaljachmutzi and the Kinai or Kinætzi. These last are more nearly allied by their vocabulary to the Esquimaux than are the Kolushi; yet they are all three distinct from the Esquimaux, and more nearly allied among themselves than to any other race. A resemblance to the Esquimaux language likewise exists in the language of the southern people, viz. the Nootkan race.

It is further observable that in all these languages a certain resemblance is to be traced, which on the whole amounts to

* Vater, ibid.

an unquestionable proof of some relationship to the ancient Mexican or Aztec idiom.*

The following is the description of the race of Nootka by Captain Cook and Mr. Anderson.

" The persons of the natives are in general under the common stature, but not slender in proportion, being commonly pretty full or plump, though not muscular. Neither are they corpulent, but many of the older people are rather spare or lean. The visage of most of them is rather round and full, and sometimes also broad, with high prominent cheeks, and above these the face is often much depressed, or seems fallen in quite across between the temples; the nose also flattened at its base, with pretty wide nostrils and a rounded point. The forehead is rather low; the eyes small, black, and rather languishing than sparkling; the mouth round, with large, round, thickish lips, the teeth tolerably equal and well set, but not remarkably white. They have either no beards at all, which was most commonly the case, or a small thin one upon the point of the chin, which does not arise from any want of hair upon that part, but from plucking it out more or less; for some of them, and particularly the old men, have not only considerable beards all over the chin, but whiskers or mustachios. Their eye-brows are also scanty and always narrow, but the hair of the head is in great abundance, very coarse and strong, and without a single exception black, straight, and lank, or hanging down over the shoulders. The neck is short; the arms and body rather clumsy; the limbs in all very small in proportion to other parts, with large feet, badly shaped, and projecting ankles."

" Their colour was difficult to determine, their skins being incrusted with dirt or paint; in particular cases, when these were rubbed off, the whiteness of the skin appeared almost equal to that of Europeans; though rather of the pale effete cast, which distinguishes that of our southern nations. Their children whose skins had never been stained also equalled ours in whiteness. A very remarkable sameness

* Vater, p. 218–221.

seems to characterize the whole nation, a dull phlegmatic want of expression being common to all of them. The women strongly resemble the men and have no pretensions to beauty."

In moral character, dispositions, and manners, this race of people appears not to be distinguished from the other nations of North America. They have the same indolence and apathy of character. In one respect they differ from many other American nations. They are very fond of music, and display, as Captain Cook informs us, much skill in the composition of their songs. He says, " their music is not of that confined sort found among many rude nations; for the variations are very numerous and expressive, and the cadence or melody powerfully soothing." *

The following is La Pérouse's description of the nations of Port des Français, who belong to the race of the Kolushians.

" In size and figure these Indians differ little from us; their features are greatly varied and afford no peculiar characteristic except in the stern expression of their eyes. The colour of their skin is very brown, being constantly exposed to the sun; but their children are born as white as any among us. They have less beards than Europeans, but enough to remove all doubt upon the subject; and the supposition that the Americans are without beards is an error that has been too readily adopted. I have seen," he adds, " the aborigines of New England, Canada, Nova Scotia, and Hudson's Bay, and have found many individuals among these nations with a beard; whence I conclude that those who are destitute of it have got rid of it by artificial means."

The people of Norfolk Sound are described by Dixon. From the general outlines of his account, as well as from a vocabulary containing the numerals of their language, it seems that they belong to the same nation as the people of Port des Français.† They speak, according to Dixon, a different language from that of Prince William's Sound, the

* The same fondness for music was observed by Dixon at Norfolk Sound. See Dixon's Voyage to the Pacific, p. 243.

† Dixon, p. 41.

natives of which are Esquimaux. They have also the same habit of cutting through the under-lip in females and making a second aperture to the mouth, which prevails at Port des Français. This and the other customs of the inhabitants of Norfolk Sound connect them also with the natives of Port Mulgrave: they resemble the latter people in their make, shape, and features, and in language. The natives of Port Mulgrave are thus described by Captain Dixon.

"They are in general about the middle size, their limbs straight and well shaped, but, like the rest of the inhabitants we have seen on the coast, they are particularly fond of painting their faces with a variety of colours, so that it is no easy matter to discover their real complexion; however, we prevailed on one woman by persuasion and a trifling present to wash her face and hands, and the alteration it made in her appearance absolutely surprised us; her countenance had all the cheerful glow of an English milk-maid, and the healthy red which flushed her cheek was even beautifully contrasted with the whiteness of her neck; her eyes were black and sparkling; her eyebrows of the same colour and most beautifully arched; her forehead so remarkably clear that the tranlucent veins were seen meandering even in their minutest branches: in short she was what would be reckoned handsome even in England."* He adds that their beauty is entirely destroyed by the artificial mouth which all the females have.

A comparison of the vocabularies obtained by Dixon and La Pérouse, and of various particulars in the descriptions of the nations above-mentioned, with the accounts given by Von Langsdorff, Davidoff, and by Von Resanoff, and other Russian voyagers, of the Kolushian tribes, and with the specimens collected of their language, enables us to conclude, without any degree of hesitation, that all these nations belong to one race. "The Koluschians," according to Von Langsdorff, "are for the most part of middle stature and strong make: they have black hair and large fiery eyes, and without displaying the characteristics of the Mongolian race they

* Page 171.

have a broad flattened nose, wide cheek-bones, and strongly marked stern features. The colour of their skin is defiled with earth and ochre, with which they smear themselves; but in women and girls who have been cleaned from all this stain, the skin has been found as white as that of any European. The women wear a piece of wood through a hole in their lower lips."

I shall conclude my account of this race with extracts from a physiological and pathological memoir by M. Rollin, who accompanied the unfortunate La Pérouse. This memoir is evidently drawn up with accuracy and minute observation. It contains remarks on the natives of Chili, of California, and on those of the country near the Baie des Français, who are of the Kolushian race. It is said that " these people have very little resemblance to the Californians. They are larger, more robust, of a more agreeable figure, susceptible of the greatest vivacity of expression, and very superior in courage and intellect. They have rather a low forehead, but a more open one than the Americans of the south; black and lively eyes; much thicker eyebrows; a nose of a regular shape and size, rather wide at the extremity; lips not fleshy, a mouth of middle size, fine and well-set teeth, and the chin and ears very regular." The author observes that the colour of the skin varies in shades, some being fairer than others, and those parts of the body which are exposed being darkest. The complexion has a tinge of the olive colour.

" The hair is not so strong and black as in the Southern Americans, and I observed a great many individuals in whom its colour was that of a chesnut. They have a fuller beard and more hair on other parts of the body than some other Americans."

This brown hue of the hair indicates a remarkable approximation to the complexion of the Northern Europeans.

It appears from these accounts that the people of the western coast of America, consisting of several distinct races, are as white as the inhabitants of Europe. This remark applies to the nations between the country of the Esquimaux, towards the north, and the neighbourhood of Port Discovery in the south in the 48th degree of north latitude. It is im-

portant to notice, in relation to this subject, that the climate of America in the western regions of that continent has been observed to assimilate much more to that of Europe than in the more eastern and central parts.* About six degrees further southward than the last-mentioned place, near Cape Orford, the natives of the coast visited by Vancouver appear to be a very different race. They are described as a people of pleasing and courteous department and gentle expression of countenance. Their features, according to Vancouver, resembled those of Europeans; their complexion was of a light olive, and their skins were tattooed like those of the South-Sea islanders.

Section VII.—*Of the Natives of California.*

Before we can complete the account of the nations inhabiting the north-western coast of America, it is necessary to mention the races found in the peninsula or projecting land of California.

Voyagers who have visited California have given various accounts respecting the nations that inhabit it, and the number and variety of their languages. A late writer informs us that there are frequently in the Spanish mission not less than ten different races of native people, each speaking a peculiar language.† But the most correct accounts we have of this country, drawn from the information of missionaries who have resided among the natives, reduce their languages to four, and ultimately to three, which are the mother tongues of all the remainder.‡ These are the Cochimi, Pericu, and Loretto languages; the former is the same as the Laymon; for the Laymones are the northern Cochimies: the Loretto has two dialects, that of the Guaycuru and the Uchiti. These three nations and languages are nearly equal in extent in California. A long list of barbarous names, the desig-

* Mackenzie's Second Journey, p. 406.

† Kotzebue's Voyage to California. Remarks by the naturalist of the Expedition, vol. iii. p. 51.

‡ Natural and Civil History of California, by Don M. Venegas, vol. i. p. 26.

nations of particular tribes, may be found in the histories of this country, which it would be useless to extract.

The climate of California, properly so called, is in general dry and hot to an excessive degree; the earth is barren, abounding in rocky and sandy districts, and deficient in water. The circumstances of the climate are, in short, in every respect opposite to those of the north-western tracts, which abound in hills often covered with snow, and with verdant forests.

It was long ago well known that the Californians are of much deeper hue than the natives of America in general. La Pérouse compares them to the Negroes in the West Indies. He says: "The colour of these Indians, which is the same as that of Negroes, a variety of circumstances, and indeed every thing that we observed, presented the appearance of a plantation in the island of St. Domingo." In another passage the same writer expresses himself more positively and minutely. He says: "The complexion of the Californians very nearly resembles that of those Negroes whose hair is not woolly: the hair of this nation is long and very strong, and they cut it four or five inches from the root."

M. Rollin, in the memoir before cited, says that "the Californians have little resemblance to the natives of Chili. They are taller, and their muscles more strongly marked, but they are not so courageous or intelligent. They have low foreheads, black and thick eyebrows, black and hollow eyes, a short nose, depressed at the root, and projecting cheek-bones. They have rather large mouths, thick lips, strong and fine teeth, and a chin and ears of the common form. They are very indolent, incurious, and almost stupid. In walking they turn in their toes, and their step is tottering and infirm." The Californians have their chins more covered with hair than the Chilians.

It seems from this description that colour is not the only circumstance in which the Californians make an approximation to the character of person prevalent in some other tropical countries, as among the Negroes of Guinea, New Guinea, and the New Hebrides. The shape of their heads and features may be compared with those of the nations last mentioned.

CHAPTER IX.

SOUTH AMERICAN NATIONS.—GENERAL SURVEY.

SECTION I.—*Geographical Outline.*

WE are much less advanced in the ethnology of South America, or in such knowledge as may enable us to distribute and classify the different tribes of that continent into families and groupes, than in that which relates to the central and northern parts of the New World. We possess, indeed, a great mass of materials fitted to aid this investigation in the form of grammars, vocabularies, catechisms, and similar works, compiled with immense labour by numerous Roman Catholic missionaries with a view to facilitate the conversion of the native races; but little progress has yet been made in tracing the affinities of languages. If we might form an opinion from the present state of knowledge on this subject, it would be that the multitude and diversity of idioms, and probably of races, is much greater in Southern than in North America. This, if the observation is correct, may perhaps be explained by reference to the nature of the country and of its surface, which is calculated more than perhaps that of any other part of the world to occasion a separation of its inhabitants into different sections, to prevent intercourse between the people of different provinces, and to develope among them differences of habits and character. A brief survey will explain this remark.

Different parts of South America are subjected to great diversities of climate and physical conditions. The broader part of the continent is situated between the tropics, and a long tract lies immediately under the equator, while the

southern extremity advances much nearer to the pole than does the extreme point of any other southern country. The southern part of Tierra del Fuego reaches beyond the 55th degree of south latitude, and its climate is wintry and inclement.*

The geographical structure of South America produces by itself all the gradations of climate between the torrid heats of low equatorial plains just rising from the level of the sea, and the cold and rare atmosphere of mountains far above the limit of perpetual frost. On the western side of the continent the vast chain of the Cordilleras, rising to the clouds, follows the shores of the great ocean along the whole length of the continent from the Isthmus of Darien to the Magellanic Straits. Towards the north this chain under the torrid zone affords the most diversified climates: sterile, parched, and burning in its abrupt descent towards the Pacific, which is separated from its feet by a narrow tract, temperate or cold on its vast table lands, it is covered with luxuriant vegetation on the more gradual declivities and successive terrasses of its eastern or inland side. Further to the east low hills, covered with thick woods, teeming with sultry heat, present towards the border of the Atlantic a remarkable uniformity of aspect through many degrees of latitude. In the midst of these regions so contrasted are level countries of immense extent: the most elevated are cold, arid, and rocky; and towards the south they are spread out into verdant plains or "pampas" of boundless horizon, which have become the pasture lands of innumerable herds of horned cattle and of wild horses. The soil is covered under the torrid zone with impenetrable forests, and traversed by the greatest rivers in the world, the waters of which swarm with alligators, and their woody banks with serpents and quadrupeds of peculiar forms, sloths

* "The coast of Tierra del Fuego presents the same general character throughout of high, broken, and rugged land, which appears of an uniform elevation of about 1000 or 1500 feet, with here and there a peak or mountain covered with snow, rising to 4000 or 5000 feet. It wears a sombre and desolate aspect. The sea in the neighbourhood, measured by a deep-sea thermometer, was about 28° at the depth of 450 fathoms."—United States' Exploratory Voyage, i. p. 108.

formerly of gigantic size, and nearly all the teethless mammifers, and with tapirs, the American representatives of the African and Asiatic elephants. The structure of the Cordillera will be best understood if we describe it as consisting of one principal and uninterrupted chain, to which others of inferior extent, but of almost equal elevation, run nearly parallel through parts of its long course. The western, which is the principal chain, describes two immense curves, which influence the form and structure of all the lower regions of the continent. The first or northernmost of these begins from the mountain-chain of Darien, and throws out its convex side towards the Pacific Ocean, giving form to the great western projection of intertropical South America. The second curve is of less extent: it is convex towards the east: it may be reckoned as extending from the high plain of Cusco, the ancient seat of the civilisation and agriculture of the Peruvian Incas, almost to Atacama, under the 24th degree of south latitude. Thence the chain of the Cordillera runs nearly in a straight line through the remainder of its course. It is in the middle tract above described, between Cusco and Atacama, that the eastern Cordillera rises almost to an equal level with the western chain. Between the two is the lofty valley of Titicaca, termed by geographers the Tibet of the New World, from the prodigious altitude of the culminating points which tower above it on every side, and the general elevation of the surface from which they take their rise. The mountainous walls surrounding this valley suffer no river to traverse their impenetrable barrier, and the waters which here fall in rain or are produced by the melting of snow, are poured into a central lake: the heights which surround it are the great "divortium aquarum," or the division of the rivers which flow through the vast plains of South America. Near the northern part of this lofty elevation the Beni and the Apurimac take their rise, two streams which by their junction form the principal channel of the great Maragnon, or River of Amazons; and on the southern part is the head of the Pilcomayo, one of the great contributaries of the Rio de la Plata. The chain which borders this valley towards the east throws up the lofty peaks of the Sorata and the Illimeni, the

highest summits of the New World. It is around the lake of Titicaca that the oldest ruins exist, vestiges of the earliest civilisation of South America, which in its rise and decay probably preceded for ages the era of Manco Capac and the Incas. From the vicinity of this high country, where the earliest civilised men of the New World worshipped the sun in a region raised above the clouds, a series of elevations and lofty ridges, called the Sierra Altissima, the Sierra de Cochabamba, and of Santa Cruz, extend nearly across the whole breadth of the South American continent. They form with the Cordillera two portions of a great amphitheatre of mountainous elevations, which surround towards the west and south the immense basin of the River of Amazons with all its tributary streams. Among them are the Madera, which intersects the vast plains of the Solimoës and the confluents of the Rio de Tapajos, the Araguay, and the Tocantins. The breadth of the whole basin of this river system is not less than twenty-five degrees from south to north. Its southern border is the series of elevations above described: its northern side is formed by a succession of mountain-chains traversing the continent to the southward of Guayana in the sixth and seventh degrees of south latitude, and dividing the basin of the Maragnon from that of the Orinoko.

The series of high levels which run across the American continent near the latitude of Titicaca, from east to west, separates the dense forest-lands of the Chiquitos and the Moxos from the great plain of Chaco to the south, termed the paradise of the wild men of South America, and long famed as the scene of the adventures of many a predatory and roving horde. The rivers which flow from the southern declivity of this transverse elevation of the continent, the Pilcomayo, the Paraguay, and the Parana, before they finally join in the great channel of La Plata, intersect regions abounding with pathless forests, concealing numerous tribes who wander in their aboriginal independence, some of them of great stature, as the fierce equestrian hordes of the Abipones and Mbocobis, and others strikingly different in bodily form and habits, the mild and diminutive Guarani, who cultivate the open spaces within

the forests, and who submitted by thousands to the tranquil manner of existence imposed upon them by their Catholic instructors, and, assembled in the Jesuits' missions, learned to eat, drink, and sleep, and perform all the actions of life mechanically at the signal of a bell or at the call of their spiritual chieftains. The elongated portion of South America beyond the great barrier of the Paraguay and the River of Silver is spread out on one side into the vast plains of the horse-taming Patagonians, and on the other rises into the mountain-chain of the Chilian Andes, inhabited by the fierce and indomitable Araucanos, and terminates in the Magellanic islands, the miserable natives of which recall in some of their habits and in their physical characteristics the Esquimaux of North America.

SECTION II.—*Distribution of the South American Nations.*

Several great families of nations have been discovered in South America, branches of which are spread through extensive parts of the continent; but we cannot refer to these races the great body of the population. The only method of classifying the South American nations that can be advantageously adopted in the present state of our knowledge is by tracing among them some general features characteristic of different groupes.

An attempt has been made on this principle by M. d'Orbigny, a French naturalist who has travelled in South America, to distribute the various tribes into departments. M. d'Orbigny's division is founded on certain relations which the author has pointed out in the physical characters of various races in connection with the local conditions of the regions which they inhabit. In following out these observations he has separated all the South American races into three sections. The tribes belonging to each are said to have certain physical traits in common, and to inhabit countries differing from each other in climate and local conditions. The nations belonging to the first groupe are termed by M. d'Orbigny Ando-Peruvians. It comprehends all the nations who

inhabit the great mountain chain of South America from the Isthmus of Darien to the extremity of Tierra del Fuego. All these nations, according to M. d'Orbigny, have a peculiar physical type which distinguishes them from other South American races, and which renders them by organisation fitted to be the inhabitants of Alpine heights or of elevated table-lands. They differ in form as well as in complexion from the native races of other parts of the same continent. The second division is neither so well defined with respect to the tribes which it comprises nor as to its geographical limits. In fact it includes both countries and races which have scarcely anything in common. It is termed the Pampean race from the Pampas, the extensive plains bordering on Patagonia. The members of this groupe are all the tribes who wander to the southward of the River Plate, including the people of Tierra del Fuego, as well as the nations on the Paraguay, in Chaco, and the missions of Los Chiquitos and Los Moxos. The third department is termed "Race Brasilio-Guaranéenne." It comprises not only all the tribes of the great Guarani nation, but likewise all the other inhabitants of the eastern region of South America, including the native population of Brasil, Guayana, and Venezuela.

I shall classify the nations of South America in a manner similar to that adopted by M. d'Orbigny, but I must here premise that I do not assume the various nations brought within each groupe to be respectively of the same stock or to be more nearly allied by affinity of race, though this in general may seem probable, than tribes belonging to other classes. I shall not venture to call the three great departments of nations so many races or families of nations, and I shall only apply these terms to some less extensive groupes, in regard to which affinity of language affords a proof of real relationship.

The first class of nations in the following enumeration will be—

1. The Andian nations, comprehending all the races of people who dwell on the high Cordillera of South America, and on or immediately adjacent to the declivities of the great mountain chain.

In this first class I propose to comprehend the following branches:—

A. The Peruvian races of M. d'Orbigny, consisting of the Quichuas, the native subjects of the Incas, the Aymaras, and some other distinct nations of the Peruvian Cordillera.

B. White nations of the eastern Andes, the Antisian nations of M d'Orbigny.

C. South-Andian races, or nations of the Southern or Chilian Andes named Araucanians, and the Magellanic nations inhabiting the last portion of that chain beyond the Magellanic Strait, termed Fuegians and Pesherais. With this groupe, since it is impossible to separate them by a distinct line, and there are, moreover, reasons to suspect a family relation between the whole department thus constituted, we must join the Patagonians and all the nations of the Southern Pampas.

2. The second class, termed Eastern Nations of South America, comprehends all the nations of that continent to the northward of the Rio de la Plata and the eastward of the River Parana and of the basin of the Paraguay, as far as the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean. It will be subdivided as follows:—

A. The Tupian and Guaranian race, consisting of a family of nations speaking kindred languages, dispersed in separate hordes and groupes over a great part of the region above defined, viz. through the eastern parts of Paraguay, the Brazils, and as far northward as the upper region of the Maragnon or River of Amazons, perhaps even to the upper Orinoko. Branches of this stock are likewise found in the country to the westward of the Paraguay.

B. The Caribbean groupe, comprising the nations of the northern coast of South America, the province of Guayana and Venezuela, reaching on the sea-coast almost from the Isthmus of Darien to the mouth of the Maragnon, and inland as far as the chains of mountains which divide the basin of the Maragnon from that of the Ori-

noko.—Many of these nations are allied by kindred language and descent to the Caribbes of the Antilles.

C. Other tribes spread through the same regions who do not appear to belong to either of the families of nations above mentioned. Most of these tribes are in a lower state with respect to moral culture than the Guarani, as the Botocudos. They are supposed to be the aborigines of many countries into which the Tupi and Guarani tribes have introduced themselves at a later period.

3. Third class.—Midland Nations, including tribes who inhabit the interior forests and *llanos* or plains of South America, between the lowest border of the Cordillera on one side, and the comparatively higher region of the Parana on the other side. They consist in the first place of the nations who inhabit the missions of the Chiquitos and the Moxos between Potosi and the upper streams of the Parana, where the South American continent becomes narrow in its diameter; and secondly, races spread through the Great Chaco, and scattered further to the southward through the countries which form the basin of the River Paraguay.

The moral condition of the native races was greatly diversified at the period of the Spanish conquest. The lake of Titicaca, situated in the centre of an elevated plain, in the midst of the highest summits of the Peruvian Cordillera, was the centre of early civilisation, and there according to traditions perhaps feebly supported by the symbolic record of the quippos, four centuries before the age of Pizarro, the founders of a royal dynasty, who like the Indian rajpoots claimed to be the offspring of the sun, emerged from the waters or first presented themselves to the eyes of mortals in the mists which emanate from the marshy banks. The Incas led their followers to the plain of Cusco, where they erected a city destined to be the centre of a mighty empire, and the great temple of Pachacamac, half a league in circuit, where consecrated virgins celebrated in songs and with bloodless sacrifices, unlike the orgies of the Mexicans, the praises of their visible god and reputed ancestor. Ruins of architectural monuments scattered through the Peruvian empire, and elevated causeways which might vie with the military roads

of the ancient Romans, attest the power and the policy of the sovereigns of Cusco, whose subjects had exchanged the habits of the fierce hunter for the quiet employment of agriculture and manufactures. In their plains, which they irrigated by canals and fertilised by means of artificial manures,* they cultivated extensively the quinoa and the potato, a native plant of their mountains, which with the maize were the staple of their sustenance. Their woollen manufactures were comparable to the finest fabrics of Europe; they worked with elegance the precious metals; they calculated the duration of the solar year; they cultivated with the most artificial system of combinations their graceful and harmonious language, in which Peruvian orators swayed in public harangues the passions of the multitude. The nearest relative of the reigning Inca was the high-priest, who offered up the ripened fruits of the earth, and on stated occasions sacrificed the llama, the only bloody victim devoted by the mild superstition of this race.

A striking contrast to the simple race of the Peruvians was to be seen in the sturdy inhabitants of the Chilian Andes, the heroic Araucanos, the Spartans of South America, who, despising agriculture and the arts of peace, devoted themselves to the pursuits of war. They have never yielded obedience to the armies of Spain. Their employment was the chase: they fed on the flesh of the animals that became their prey. Their daring and chivalrous adventures have drawn praises from their enemies, from whose greater numbers and discipline they have sought refuge in inaccessible mountains or by spreading themselves over the vast champaign which extends to the eastward of the Cordillera. Defended by their stormy seas and barren rocks, the Pesherais and other natives of the Magellanic islands maintain their savage independence. They scarcely clothe themselves under a wintry climate in the skins of seals, and feed on fish, or in times of

* Garcilasso de la Vega informs us that the ancient Peruvians used to procure for the fertilisation of their soil a peculiar material produced from the dung of water-fowl. He says that they termed it "Guano."—Garcilasso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries, book v. chap. 3.

scarcity on the bodies of their aged parents. They are the last representatives of the Alpine family of American nations, and the most degraded of the human race. The Patagonians wander with droves of horses over their arid plains. They are a part of the great family who, under the name of Puelche, were formerly spread from the River of Silver to the Magellanic Straits, and by late writers are supposed to be related on one side to the Araucanians, and on the other to the miserable Pesherais. The eastern declivities of the Peruvian and Bolivian Andes from the thirteenth to the seventeenth degree of southern latitude, amid abrupt and precipitous mountains, where in deep and rocky valleys a vigorous and magnificent vegetation is displayed, is the country of the Antisian tribes, so named on the authority of the Inca, Garcilasso de la Vega, the historian of Peru. On the banks of mountain streams and amidst the darkness of primeval forests, the Antisian tribes acquired those modifications of character which distinguish them from the Quichua and Aymara herdsmen, who on the cold and grassy mountains of Peru live peaceably on the produce of their tillage and their flocks amidst the ruins of ancient civilisation and monuments of their national glory. A part of the Antisian nations have embraced Christianity; a part remain savages. In the eastern parts of South America, the warlike Caribbes had effected conquests in the interior, and had occupied the Antilles, called from them Caribbean Isles, before the era of the conquest. In the opinion of Humboldt and others many nations of various habits spread over the coast on both sides of the Orinoko are allied to the Caribbean family. Very different in character from them were hordes of the Tupian or Guaranian race, by far the most numerous of all the nations of America, who spread themselves in separate hordes amid the forests of Brasil and Paraguay, of both which countries they were the principal inhabitants. The identity of speech among these wandering bands is the proof of a common origin, which otherwise would not be believed. The abodes of the Guarani are open spaces in the midst of pathless forests, where they dwell, a quiet and harmless race, and cultivate maize and beans and gourds and yams and manioc: they

feed on these and partly on honey and wild fruits, and eat also the flesh of monkeys, of the chibiguazu, the mborebi, and the caribera. The Jesuit missionaries found the Guarani the most docile of the American races, and upwards of 140,000 of this nation, settled in thirty villages, had embraced the Christian religion before the year 1732. Other more savage races of different physical and moral character from the Guarani were interspersed along the borders of their country. The Charrua, a proud and ferocious tribe, lately exterminated, dwelt between the Uruguay and the Paraguay. The Charruas were nearly black: they were a tall people, in stature higher by one inch than the Spaniards, while the Guarani were two inches shorter than the European measure. Sullen and austere, the Charruas knew neither song nor dance nor instrument of music, nor, as Azara declares, had they any conversation among themselves.

Beyond the Paraguay in the plains of Chaco lived the hordes of Tobas or Mbocobi, and the now equestrian Abipones, nations of fine stature and physical qualities, whose history has been celebrated by Dobrizhoffer and Southey; and to the northward of the transverse line of the South American highlands, the Chiquitos and the Moxos, the former mountaineers, but remarkable among the nations of South America for the gentleness of their disposition, which prepared them for a ready reception of Christianity, and the latter a fishing and diving race, who spent their days in canoes upon the waters which stagnate in the central parts of the continent.

The rapid sketch which I have attempted to draw of the principal groupes of South American races must be filled up with more accurate details in the following chapters. I shall conclude this section with accounts of the remaining numbers of different tribes, and the proportions in which they have been brought to embrace Christianity, which I shall take from M. d'Orbigny's contributions to the statistics of South America.

An attempt has been made by M. d'Orbigny to estimate the numbers of people belonging to each of the great families of South American nations, whether civilised and brought

within the pale of the Christian Church, or remaining yet in the wildness of pagan barbarism. The result is gratifying, and tends to relieve the distressing picture which the history of North America presents. It shows that a million and a half of the unmixed aboriginal races of America yet survive. The American race, through the exertions of missionaries, is destined to live in the future ages of the world. This consideration, if we can separate it from the events of the Spanish conquest, for which it may be hoped that soldiers and not the ministers of religion were responsible, reflects honour on the Church which professes to comprehend all mankind within its sway, and which, whatever in other respects may have been its faults, has done far more than any particular community to spread the Catholic faith among barbarians and infidels. The numbers of Christians and of Pagans belonging to each race are, according to M. d'Orbigny, as follows:—

	Christians.	*Savages.*
Peruvian branch.....	1,315,452	—
Antisian branch	11,857	2,700
Araucanian branch.....	—	34,000
Patagonian branch.....	100	32,400
Chiquitian branch	17,735	1,500
Moxian branch	23,720	3,497
Tupian and Guaranian family	222,036	20,100
	1,590,900	94,197

CHAPTER X.

ANDIAN NATIONS.—RACES OF THE CORDILLERA.

SECTION I.—*Of the Peruvian Nations.*

FOUR distinct languages are spoken within the domain of the ancient Incas of Peru, which distinguish so many nations, said in other respects to resemble each other, and to have no strongly-marked physical differences. One of these nations are the Quichuas or the proper subjects of the Incas, the centre of whose empire was the city of Cusco. The Quichuas in later times were the dominant race. Subject to them were the Aymaras, also a civilised people, and the inferior tribes of Atacamas and Changos, the two latter of which, comparatively rude in manners, occupied the lower country between the Cordillera and the shores of the Pacific. These four nations have been entirely converted to Christianity. Their numbers are thus stated by M. d'Orbigny:—

Quichuas,	of pure race	934,707	.. mixed	458,572
Aymaras	„	372,397	„	188,237
Atacamas	„	7,348.	„	2,170
Changos	„	1,000	„	—
		1,315,452		648,979

The physical characters of these nations are thus described in general by M. d'Orbigny.

"Complexion deep olive brown, which, as he says, is correctly denoted by M. de Humboldt as that of *bronze.* Stature, middle, 1 metre,* 597 millimètres. Form massive; trunk

* One metre is equal to 3 feet + 1 line — ½ line. 597 millimetres are 0·597 parts of a metre. The whole measure here given is therefore a little more than 4½ feet.

very long in relation to the whole stature. Forehead retreating; face broad, oval; nose long, very aquiline, widened at the base. Mouth rather large; lips of moderate thickness. Eyes placed horizontally, with the cornea of a yellowish hue. Cheek-bones not prominent. Features strongly marked. Expression of countenance serious, thoughtful, even sad."

The country inhabited by these four Peruvian races extends over the greater part of the domain governed by the ancient Incas, viz. over the Andes and their declivities from the equator to the twenty-eighth degree of south latitude. Its western boundary is the ocean. Its eastern borders are the branches of mountains which are the abode of the Antisian races, to be hereafter described, and further southward the plain of Chaco. It consists of high mountain plains on the borders of perpetual snow, and of hot valleys destitute of trees and moisture, or of low flat lands, where the resources of industry can alone enable the colonist to derive sustenance from the soil. The western face of the Andian chain, destitute of the luxuriant vegetation which covers the eastern sides, arid and barren, offers to the stranger little hope of discovering in that region the highest civilisation of South America. In the higher parts cultivated plains or pasture-grounds covered with flocks of alpacas and llamas display the resources of the country.

Paragraph 1.—The Quichuas or the Inca Race.

The name of the Quichuas is supposed to have been that of a particular tribe: it was used by the Spaniards to designate all those who speak the old language of the Incas, or *Chieftains*, as the term expresses. The Quichuan people, properly so termed, appear to have inhabited the plateau of the Andes as far northward as Quito, where their idiom is now spoken: they reached southward to the fifteenth degree of south latitude, where a large space of country between the two chains of mountains and the coast is occupied by the race of Aymaras. To the southward of the Aymaras the Quichuas are again recognised by their language as far as

the twenty-eighth degree of south latitude. Their territory may be described as a long band of high country following from north to south the form of the Andian chain from Quito near to the lake of Titicaca, and then reaching to the southward of the Aymaras, who inhabited the borders of that lake, in a narrow strip on the eastern side of the Cordillera from Cochabamba to Santiago de Estero.

The complexion of the Quichuas, as M. d'Orbigny has observed in thousands of the race, has nothing either of the coppery hue ascribed to the North Americans, nor of the yellow tinge belonging to the races of Brasil. The real colour of the Quichuas is precisely that of Mulattos, and it is remarkably uniform in persons of the pure stock. It is an olive brown, correctly termed, as we have observed, the colour of *bronze*.

The same writer assures us that the stature of the Quichuas is low. He says:—"We have not met with any who had attained a greater height than five feet three inches. The great number of measurements that we have made authorise us to believe that their mean height is not above four feet nine inches, and often under that in many provinces, particularly in the elevated plateaux where the rarefication of the air is greatest; while those whom we had seen, who were of a higher stature, lived principally in the warm and humid valleys of the province of Ayupaya. The women are still less, and perhaps below the relative proportion which generally exists among white races.

"The forms of the Quichuas are more robust than those of other mountain tribes; they may be described as characteristic of the race. The Quichuas have very large square shoulders, a broad chest, very voluminous, highly arched, and longer than usual, which increases the size of the trunk, while the normal relation in respect to length of the trunk to the extremities does not appear to be the same among the Quichuas as among our European races; it differs equally from that of other American families; the extremities are nevertheless very muscular and bespeak great strength; the head is larger than usual in proportion to the rest of the body; the hands and feet are always small."

The structure of the body has, according to M. d'Orbigny, a remarkable peculiarity. The following are his observations.

"It has been observed that the trunk is longer in proportion than among other Americans; and that for the same reason the extremities are, on the contrary, shorter. We endeavoured at the same time to explain this fact by the greater developement of the chest. It would appear that any given part of the body may take a greater extension from any adequate cause, while other parts follow the ordinary course. An evident proof of this fact may be found in the phenomena of imperfect conformation, in which a certain part of the body, in consequence of deformity, does not assume in external appearance its complete natural developement, as we see in the trunk of a dwarf, while this defect does not prevent the extremities from acquiring those proportions that they would have had if the trunk had received its full growth. This accounts for the want of symmetry in the persons of dwarfs, and for that length of the upper and lower limbs so much out of proportion with the body. If we admit this fact, difficult to contest, why, in the case in question, may we not admit as well that the chest, from a cause which we shall explain, having acquired a more than ordinary extension, might naturally lengthen the trunk without causing the extremities to lose their normal proportion, which would make it appear, as indeed it would be, longer than among other men, when no accident can have altered the form common to the race?"

"Let us return to the causes which occasion in the Quichuas the great volume of chest which has been observed in them. Many considerations have led us to attribute this to the influence of the elevated regions in which they live, and to the modifications occasioned by the extreme expansion of the air. The plateaux which they inhabit are comprised between the limits of 7500 to 15,000 feet above the level of the sea: there the air is so rarefied that a much greater quantity must be inhaled at each inspiration than at the level of the ocean. The lungs require, in consequence of their great requisite volume and of their greater dilatation in breathing, a cavity larger than in lower regions.

This cavity receives from infancy, and during the time of its growth, a great developement entirely independent of that of other parts. We were desirous of determining whether, as we might suppose *à priori*, the lungs, in consequence of their great size, were not subject to extraordinary modifications. Inhabiting the city of La Paz, upwards of 11,000 feet above the level of the ocean, and being informed that in the hospital there were constantly Indians from the populous plateaux still more elevated, we had recourse to the kindness of our countryman, M. Burnier, physician to the hospital; and he permitted us to make a *post-mortem* examination of some of these Indians from the highest regions: in these we have, as we expected, found the lungs of an extraordinary dimension, which the external form of the chest clearly indicated. We remarked that the cells were much larger and more in number than in those of the lungs we had dissected in France; a condition very necessary to increase the surface in contact with the ambient fluid. To conclude, we have discovered,—first, that the cells were more dilated; secondly, that their dilatation increases considerably the volume of the lungs; thirdly, that consequently they must have, to contain them, a larger cavity; fourthly, that therefore the chest has a capacity much larger than in the normal state; lastly, that this great developement of the chest elongates the trunk beyond its natural proportions, and places it almost out of harmony with the length of the extremities, this remaining the same as if the chest had preserved its natural dimensions."

The Quichuas have strongly marked features, and in this respect have no resemblance to the races classed in the two other departments of the South American nations. So says M. d'Orbigny, contradicting the general assertion of uniformity of type among these races. He says their features have an entirely peculiar cast, which resembles no other American people but the Mexican. "Their head is oblong from the forehead to the occiput, somewhat compressed at the sides. The forehead is slightly arched, short, and falling a little back: nevertheless the skull is often voluminous and announces a tolerably large developement of brain; their face is generally broad, approaching to an oval form; their

nose is remarkable, always prominent, long, and strongly aquiline, as if bent at its extremity over the upper lip; the nostrils are large, broad, and very open; the mouth is larger than common and prominent, though the lips are not very thick; the teeth are always beautiful, even in old age; the chin is rather short, without receding, sometimes being even rather prominent; the cheeks are slightly raised, and only in advanced age; the eyes are of common size, and sometimes even small, always horizontal; they are never oblique or raised at their exterior angle; the cornea is never white; it is invariably rather yellow; the eyebrows are long, arched, narrow, and scanty; the hair is always of a beautiful black, thick, long, very soft, and straight, and descending very low over the forehead and sides; the beard is reduced among all the Quichuas, without exception, to some straight and scanty hairs, covering the upper lip, the sides of the mouth, and the middle of the chin. The Quichua nation is, perhaps, among the indigenous races, that one which has the least beard. The profile of the Quichua forms an obtuse angle, and is little different from ours; only the maxillaries advance more than in the Caucasian race; the arches of the eyebrows are prominent; the base of the nose is very deep. Their physiognomy is upon the whole uniform, serious, reflective, even melancholy, without, however, showing indifference; it denotes rather penetration without frankness. It might be said that they endeavour to hide their thoughts under the sameness that is remarked in their countenances, where emotions are rarely exhibited externally, and never with that vivacity which in some races betrays the feelings. Their features altogether retain a mediocrity of expression. The women are seldom very handsome; their noses are not so prominent or curved as those of the men; the latter, although they have no beard, have a masculine expression derived from their strongly marked features. An ancient vase, which represents with striking fidelity the features of the present race of Quichuas, convinces us that for four or five centuries their physiognomy has undergone no sensible alteration."

The moral qualities of the Quichua nation are in every respect strongly in contrast with that character which some

writers would represent as the universal and undeviating attribute of the native races of the New World.

The character of the Quichuas, moral and intellectual, has been ably sketched by M. d'Orbigny, who has derived his information partly from ample descriptions of that people by Acosta and Garcilasso de la Vega, and in part from his personal observation. Acosta was one of the earliest and best-informed of the Spanish writers who gave a full and detailed account of the Peruvians soon after their conquest by Pizarro, and Garcilasso, who was allied by descent to the royal family, was the author of a celebrated work on the history of the Incas, including the origin and fall of that celebrated dynasty. The Peruvians, as it is well known, had historical records like the Mexicans. Acosta says that they had historical paintings, but they used chiefly for ordinary purposes *quippos*, of which the same writer gives the following account. "In the different affairs of war, government, tributes, of ceremony, of agriculture, there were different sorts of quippos or *ends of cords*—'ramales.' In each bundle there were many knots and cords fastened together, some red, some green, blue, and white, producing so many different combinations, that as we express an infinity of words by arranging twenty-four letters in various forms, so they with their differently coloured knots contrived to represent innumerable signs of things." According to Garcilasso they were able to record the memorials of their history by means of these quippos.* It is a curious fact that the Chinese are said by their ancient historians to have used knotted cords for similar purposes before the invention of their symbolic characters. The Mexicans also are said to have practised an art of the same kind. The Peruvians had considerable attainments in science, which they appear to have made independently of all foreign aid, even from the nations

* Garcilasso says the Peruvians used instead of letters "knots of divers colours tied in a silken twist, the colours being as so many cyphers. In this manner, by way of knots, they kept all their accounts so exactly and summed them up with such readiness, that to the great admiration of the Spaniards their best arithmeticians could not exceed them." The Royal Commentaries of the Incas of Peru, by the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, book ii., chap. 6, rendered into English by Sir Paul Rycaut, Kt., 1688, fol.

of America. Their decimal system of arithmetic indicates a total separation between them and the Mexicans. They had observed the solstices and the equinoxes, and the length of the solar year.* The remains of their temples display great taste and skill in architecture: they cultivated poetry and music, and the "redondillas" or roundelays of the Incas were celebrated by the Spanish writers for their pathetic and beautiful simplicity. Their language was harmonious, graceful, and formed by the most artificial system of inflections and combinations. Their religion was, if we may apply such epithets to any uninspired faith, the mere result of the inward light of the untaught human mind, in the highest degree spiritual and sublime. They recognised in Pachacamac the invisible God, the creator of all things, supreme over all, who governed the motion of the heavenly bodies, and whom they worshipped without image or temple in the open air, while to the Sun, his visible creature, they erected temples, honoured him with costly gifts, and with rites performed by consecrated virgins. In the milder character of their religion, and the greater softness and gentleness of their moral disposition, the Peruvians are strongly distinguished from the nations of Anahuac, and particularly from those of the Toltec and Aztec race.

Paragraph 2.—The Aymaras.

The Aymara language was observed by Vater to have many words in common with the Quichua, but that writer doubted whether this resulted from ancient sameness or from later intercourse. That these languages were originally cognate, and the people branches of one race, is an opinion which we are strongly tempted to adopt. We are assured by M. d'Orbigny that the Aymara language resembles the Quichua in its forms and construction. He adds:—"We

* The summer and winter solstices, says Garcilasso, were marked by eight towers, which they erected to the east, and as many to the west of the city of Cusco. When the sun came to rise exactly opposite to eight of these towers which were to the east of the city, and to set just against those in the west, it was then the summer solstice. Royal Comm. book ii., chap. 11.

even find that nearly a twentieth part of the words have evidently the same origin, especially those which express religious ideas; so that, while it must be acknowledged that there is a multitude of words whose roots are different, and which would seem to denote a difference of origin, we are induced to believe that the Aymara language is a cognate of the Quichua, which surrounds it on all sides and has been altered by time. This hypothesis would agree with the geographical position of the plateau of Titicaca, where the Aymaras live, and still more with the monuments of this nation, which appear to be the central point of primitive civilisation: It might be still inquired whether the sacred idiom which the Incas transplanted from the banks of the lake of Titicaca to the Cusco, and which they preserved in their family, may not be the Aymara language."

"In character, in intellectual powers, in manners, in customs, in the usages of private and social life, in agricultural and manufacturing industry, and in clothing, the Aymaras entirely resembled and still resemble the Quichuas, to whom they were in subjection; but if we will cast a rapid glance over the mode of architecture of their monuments, whose origin is lost in the darkness of antiquity, we shall find a great difference between them and those of the Incas. We refer to the monuments of Tiaguanaco, situated in the centre of their country near the lake of Titicaca, of which many ancient authors have spoken, and the origin of which was so entirely unknown that they were said by a figurative expression to have been built before the sun enlightened the earth. These monuments which we discovered denote a more advanced civilisation perhaps even than that of Palenque. They consist of a mound raised nearly a hundred feet, surrounded with pillars; —of temples from a hundred to two hundred metres in length, placed precisely towards the east, and adorned with colossal angular columns;—of porticos of one stone covered with reliefs of skilful execution, although of rude design, displaying symbolical representations of the sun, and the condor his messenger;—of colossal basaltic statues loaded with bas-reliefs, in which the design of the carved head is half Egyptian;— and lastly, of the interior of a palace formed of enormous

blocks of rock completely hewn, whose dimensions are often seven metres in length and four metres in breadth, and two in thickness. In the temples and palaces the portals are not inclined as among those of the Incas, but perpendicular; and their vast dimensions, and the imposing masses of which they are composed, surpass in beauty and grandeur all that were afterwards built by the sovereigns of Cusco. We know not the existence of sculpture or of bas-reliefs in the monuments of the Quichuas, while those of Tiaguanaco are all thus ornamented. The presence of these rudest remains of an ancient civilisation, upon the point on which the first Inca emerged from the lake to found the empire of Cusco, appears to offer an additional proof that from thence were transported with Manco-Capac the last memorials of the earlier grandeur of the Aymaras."

Paragraph 3.—History of the Aymaras and the Quichuas.

The Aymaras are a people whose history has hitherto been very little known. Their country is the region surrounding the lake of Titicaca, which many persons now suppose to have been the seat of the earliest civilisation of South America, referred by them to an era long antecedent to the dynasty of the Incas. On this supposition the Aymaras rise into a station of importance in the history of America, which they have not heretofore held. M. d'Orbigny embraces the opinion which ascribes to the Aymaras this greater antiquity. He observes that Manco-Capac is said by the Quichuan tradition to have made his first appearance on the lake of Titicaca, where he was fabled to have risen from the waves: thence proceeding northward, he assembled under his sway many barbarous tribes, whom he collected in the city of Cusco, the future seat of the power of the Incas his descendants. The third king, Lloque Yupanqui, according to Garcilasso de la Vega, began to reduce the Aymaras under the Quichuan arms; but the Incas never revisited the monuments of Tiaguanaco, whence without doubt their forefathers had descended, till the reign of Mayta-Capac, the successor of Yupanqui, and the final conquest of the Aymara nation under the sovereigns of Cusco is not dated

before the time of the seventh Inca, Yahuar-Huacac. The Aymaras were a numerous race: they still preserve their language, which is distinct from the Quichua, and is spoken over an extent of country on the Andian plateau which reaches from the fifteenth to the twentieth degree of south latitude, namely, from the provinces of Tinta and Arequipa over the whole basin of Paria and Oruro. They occupy a high country, around which the Quichuas are spread out in various directions. The gigantic monuments of Tiaguanaco, the numerous remains in the neighbourhood of the lake of Titicaca, and the extensive groupes of ancient tombs in the deserts of Carangas, afford evidence that the population as well as the refinement of the Aymara nation had attained a high degree.

The physical characters of the Aymaras are precisely similar to those of the Quichuas. "As they inhabit a still higher region, the remarks which we have made on the structure of the chest and trunk refer rather more to the Aymaras than to the Quichuas. The present Aymaras have the same form of the head as the Quichuas, often voluminous, oblong from front to back, and slightly compressed at the sides. Their forehead is slightly arched but retreating, but no head is to be found comparable to the flattened skulls of their ancestors seen in tombs in the lake of Titicaca, in those of the province of Muñecos, in the wildest parts of Carangas, and in the valleys of Tacua. What proves, if any proof were wanting, that this deformity is owing to a mechanical process, and is not a part of the natural structure of the race, is the fact that in the same tombs, together with the depressed skulls, others are found of a very different shape." In pursuing the investigation which this remark suggested, M. d'Orbigny discovered the fact that the flattened heads are those of men, while the heads of females were allowed to remain of the natural figure.* A further and indeed a conclusive proof that

* No historical testimony remains as to this custom of the Aymaras; but many other nations in South as well as in North America are known to have followed this practice. A passage of Garcilasso de la Vega has been cited in reference to the Apicheques on the coast near Quito. "Deformaròn las cabezas à los niños en naciendo, poniendoles una tablilla en la fronte y otra en el colodrillo, hasta que eran de 4 à 5 años." &c.

this flattened form is the result of art, is afforded by an inspection of the skulls themselves. "We observe," says M. d'Orbigny, "in the flattening of the frontal bone, in the projection that it forms over the parietal bones at the upper part, that there has evidently been compression before and behind, so directed as to force the mass of the brain backwards by pushing as it were the frontal bone over the parietals.

"The head of a young subject in my possession shows still more clearly by a longitudinal fold which exists at the upper medial part of the vertex, by a strong projection of the frontal over the parietal bones, and by the prominence equally strong of the upper part of the occipital over these parietal bones, that the pressure has been employed in a circular manner from the earliest age of infancy by means of a broad ligature. This supposition appears still more admissible when we observe from behind that not only the mass of the brain has given a great size to the posterior parts to the prejudice of the anterior, but also that the pressure having greatly increased the convexity of the posterior lobes of the brain, the parietal bones have necessarily followed the same shape in being modelled upon them; the parietal bones likewise form always two later posterior convexities, slightly separated by an evident depression. We find again another proof of this pressure in the obliteration of the sutures, which is observable upon all the points affected by pressure, even in the heads of the youngest subjects."

M. d'Orbigny considers it as fully proved that the depressed or elongated form of these heads is not, as was supposed, the natural character of the skulls of the Aymaras, but is only an exception, evidently owing to the intervention of art. It would be interesting to inquire into the antiquity of this custom of flattening the head, and the influence that it is likely to have exercised over the intelligence of the subjects among whom it is found to have prevailed.

"As to the antiquity of the custom, we see by the profile of the head of a colossal statue more ancient than the Incas, that the skulls were not then depressed; for the ancient people who always aimed to exaggerate existing characteristics would

not have failed to exhibit them. It is therefore probable that this custom was contemporaneous with the reign of the Incas. Even the lengthening of the ears of one of these compressed heads may lead us to determine very nearly the age in which the individual lived. It was found in the province of Carangas to the west of Oruro. It is known that this province was only conquered under the reign of the seventh Inca, Yahuar-Huacac, who according to all probability lived about the thirteenth century. Thus as the Incas only granted the honour of stretching the ears by a special grace, or to recompense a conquered nation for its prompt submission to their terms, and as this concession came necessarily at the end of the establishment of the customs of the conquerors, we may suppose that it was not generally in practice among the Aymaras till towards the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The statues show besides that the custom of lengthening the ears was unknown at the time of the first civilisation of the plateau of the Andes.

"We have not been able to learn any thing clearly with respect to the influence which this artificial deformity of the head had upon the intellectual faculties of the Aymaras, since the old historians give us no information; but there is reason to believe that there may be a displacement of the parts of the brain without any diminution of substance. It will be admitted that by the nature of their occupation the chiefs of these nations had probably their intellectual faculties more expanded than their vassals. May we not from this fact draw an argument in favour of our opinion?—for the most depressed heads that we have seen have been constantly found in tombs whose construction announces that they belonged to the chiefs."

Paragraph 4.—The Atacamas or Olipes.

The people termed by M. d'Orbigny Atacamas were formerly called Olipes: by Garcilasso they are named Llipi. It seems that they are the inhabitants of the western declivity of the Cordillera from the nineteenth to the twenty-second

degree of south latitude, viz. the provinces of Tarapaca and of Atacama.

They resemble the Quichuas in their physical characters, but have a peculiar language: inhabitants of sea-coasts and of low countries, they have been immemorially addicted to fishing and agriculture. Their tombs, which are always subterraneous, are different from those of the Aymaras, and more like the Quichuan. Their bodies were laid in vertical graves with their limbs bent up, like their position in an unborn child, surrounded by vessels, by dresses and tools, and the female corpses by baskets and implements of weaving.

Paragraph 5.—The Changos.

The Changos are the remnant of a much more numerous people inhabiting only the coast of Peru between the twenty-second and twenty-fourth degrees of south latitude. They were separated from the Araucos by the celebrated wilderness of Atacama.

The complexion of the Changos is identical with that of the Quichuas, except that it is of a deeper hue, a sort of black bistre colour, or a tawny approaching to black. We cannot fail to connect this observation with their local situation on the sea-coast, when so many parallel facts furnish themselves to our view in different parts of America as well as the Old World. The only difference discovered between the Changos and the other Peruvians is a great flatness of the nose and lips, a prominent feature which serves to approximate them to the Araucanos.

Section II.—*Of the Antisian Races or the White Nations of the Eastern Andes.*

The eastern or inland border of the Peruvian Cordillera, where the high mountain-land descends through a region of lofty forests intersected by precipices and torrents into the interior plains of South America, is the abode of a groupe of

nations marked by some common characters of bodily organisation, and particularly by a complexion which resembles neither the coppery hue of the Peruvians, nor the yellow tint of the native races of Brasil. M. d'Orbigny has denominated these nations Antisian, from a geographical term, the meaning of which rests on the authority of the Peruvian, Garcilasso de la Vega.*

The region inhabited by these races is striking in its local peculiarities. "Here," says M. d'Orbigny, "far from those elevated treeless plateaux or extensive plains, or cold grassy mountains, where the Aymaran or the Quichuan herdsman wanders surrounded by his flocks or lives on the culture of the soil amid the ruins of the ancient grandeur and the monuments of his forefathers, the Antisian savage has fixed his dwelling at the feet of precipitous rocks and under lofty trees, the branches of which form a vast canopy impenetrable to the solar rays, and preserving under their dark masses of foliage a cool atmosphere and an ever-verdant and luxuriant vegetation. In such a situation and under the influence of local conditions so opposite to those which surround the natives of the plains of Cusco, the physical characters of the human race may be expected to display a corresponding diversity, unless external agencies, such as those of climate and local situation, are altogether destitute of influence on the constitution of men."

Five distinct races, or rather so many hordes speaking distinct languages, are included by M. d'Orbigny in this department of South American nations: they are the Yuracarès, the Mocétènès, the Tacanas, the Maropas, and the Apolistas. The collective numbers of all are only 14,557 persons. Of these 2,800 are said to be still pagans and savages: the

* Garcilasso says the Incas divided their empire into four parts, making Cusco the centre. To the eastward they called the country Antisuyu from the province Anti, which extends all along that great mountain stretching through the snowy desert eastward. To the westward they called the country Cantisuyu from that small province which is called Canti. To the northward lies the province Chincha, and to the southward the country called Colla, which reaches to the Zur. Royal Commentaries, book ii. chap. 5.—I imagine that the region of the Antisian races of D'Orbigny is more extensive than the Antisuyu of Garcilasso, but the term *Antisian* may well answer the purpose of a distinctive epithet.

remainder have been converted to the Catholic religion. Though this number is small, it yet suffices to bring before our view, as our author observes, " facts the most curious in regard to the influence of localities on the physical and moral characters of man."

I shall cite in the original words of the writer his description of this groupe of nations. " La couleur du rameau des Antisiens nous présente une prémière preuve de cette influence des circonstances locales." " Les nations de ce rameau sont en effet presque blanches comparativement aux Aymaras, aux Quichuas, aux autres montagnards des plateaux élevés, et même comparativement aux habitans des plaines des Moxos." As a proof that the shade of complexion is connected with variety of climate, M. d'Orbigny states that the races of deepest colour in these regions are the Maropas, who were long ago removed to the plains, and the Apolistas, who inhabit more elevated and less humid mountains, while the Yuracarès, the Mocétenes, and the Tacanas, who live in the middle of the darkest forests where the rays of the sun can never approach them, are the whitest of all these nations.

The stature of these people furnishes, according to our author, a second proof of the influence of local agencies. The Aymaran and Quichuan mountaineers are of low stature. The Yuracares, who live on the eastern declivity of the Andes, are the tallest of these tribes: their average stature is five feet and half an inch; some are as tall as five feet five inches. Their form displays a similar modification. We here find not those short broad human figures where the trunk exceeds the proportion of the limbs, owing to the peculiar condition of the atmosphere. These sylvan races have fine forms, elegant and at the same time strong, displaying vigour and activity.

The features of the Antisian races display two different types. The Yuracares are in features like the Quichuas and Aymaras: they have oval countenances, long aquiline noses. If we might form an opinion from the type of features, we should say that the Yuracares are descended from the Quichuan mountaineers, having their complexion changed by the bleaching effect of the moisture and heat of the atmosphere,

and their form modified by the absence of those causes which occasion in the Peruvian so great an expansion of the thorax. The other nations of the same division have features of a different cast; round effeminate countenances, short flat noses: they are more like the people of the plains.

The languages of these nations are little known. They are said to be soft and harmonious in utterance, and unlike the harsh and guttural speech of the Quichuas and Aymaras.

The name of the Yuracares is of Quichuan origin. It is derived from *yurak*, white, and *kari*, men. The people themselves only recognise the names of Solostos and Mansinos, by which they are distinguished into two hostile tribes. They live between Santa Cruz de la Sierra on the east and the longitude of Cochabamba west, in hot humid forests at the feet of the eastern border of the Andes, near the sources of various rivers which are affluents of the Mamoré. The Moxos are their neighbours towards the north, and the Chiriguanos to the south-east. Their colour, which has obtained for them the name of Yuracari or "white men," would be looked upon as an anomaly if it were not common to them and the other races who live under similar local conditions. M. d'Orbigny thus expresses his opinion:—"Nous avons cru reconnoitre dans la couleur claire des Yuracarès un effet prolongé de leur habitation: entourés de nations dont les teintes sont bien plus foncées, on doit attribuer l'affaiblissement de leur couleur à l'influence continue des ombrages perpétuels sous lesquels ils vivent au sein de forêts touffues, où il pleut presque continuellement; tandis que les montagnards, leurs voisins, habitent des pays occidentés, toujours dépourvus d'ombre, et dont la température est des plus sêches." "On ne peut attribuer le peu d'intensité de leur teinte au croisement des races; car ils sont encore sauvages; et sous peine de duels interminables, ils ne se marient qu'avec leurs plus proches parentes, sans jamais s'allier aux autres tribus de leur nation, et à plus forte raison avec des femmes blanches, qu'ils régardent comme de beaucoup au-dessous d'eux."

The Yuracares are the tallest of all the mountain tribes: their stature reaches five feet five inches; and judging by measurements, M. d'Orbigny supposes that the average

height is five feet one inch and a half. The women are in the higher rather than in the ordinary measurement of human stature. The Yuracares have fine figures, a vigorous air, shoulders broad, their chest arched, the body slender, the limbs full and very muscular.

The Yuracares are mostly savages: few of them have embraced Christianity, which has been diffused generally among the other nations of this department.

Other tribes are supposed to belong to this same department of nations, but their physical characters are unknown. They are the Huacanahuas, the Suriguas, the Machuis, the Ultume-Cuanas, the Chontaquiros, the Chanchos, the Quixos, the Chayaritos, supposed to extend over the whole eastern border of the Andes to the southern feet of the plateau of Condinamarca.

SECTION III.—*Of the South-Andian or Chilian Race, including the Araucanos.*

These tribes constitute in M. d'Orbigny's classification a particular section in the department of Andian nations, comprehending not only the Chilians, but also the natives of the Magellanic Isles, or Tierra del Fuego, who inhabit the southern extremity of the Cordillera beyond the Magellanic Strait. They reach, as he says, from the fiftieth degree of south latitude along the western side of the Andian chain to Cape Horn, and likewise inhabit the higher valleys and plains to the eastward of the Cordillera from the thirty-third to the forty-second degree of south latitude, bounded to the north by the Peruvian nations termed the Changos and Atacamas, on the south and west by the ocean, and on the east by the Puelche and Patagonians of the Pampas. Their country is of varied surface: the mountains are no longer so lofty or bare as in Peru; they are covered with forests on their sides and afford fertile pasturage. The Magellanic isles are only habitable near the coasts.

M. d'Orbigny estimates the number of the Chilians at 30,000; the Fuegians at 4000. They are all savages and pagans, and for the most part independent.

Some writers, among whom is M. d'Orbigny, give the name of Araucanos to all the Chilian nations. We are assured by the Abbate D. J. Ignatius de Molina, the historian of Chili, that the Araucanos are only a particular tribe, and that their name cannot properly serve as a designation for the whole race. The family of nations indeed to which the aborigines of Chili belong seems to be very extensively spread, and, as I shall show in the following section, is by some writers supposed to comprehend all the southern nations of America beyond the latitude of the estuary of La Plata. In the present section I shall confine my remarks to the nations of Chili.

Molina assures us that all the aboriginal tribes of that country, however independent of each other, speak the same language and resemble each other in appearance. It is not clear how widely he here extends the designation of Chilians. In his account of the conquest of Chili by the Peruvian Inca, Lloque Yupanqui, who reigned about 1540, Molina says that the inhabitants of Chili were divided into fifteen tribes or communities. These tribes, beginning at the north, were called the Copiapins, the Coquimbanes, the Quillotanes, the Mapochinians, the Promanecans, the Cares, the Canques, Peacones, Araucanians, Cunches, Chilotes, Chiquilancans, Pehuenches, Puelches, and Huilliches. If all these are to be reckoned among them, the race included besides the proper Chilians, as we shall hereafter find, all the nations of South America to the southward of Buenos Ayres.

M. d'Orbigny says that the Araucanos have precisely the same tinge of complexion as the Peruvians, an olive brown or olive colour; but he adds that this colour is of a much lighter shade in the Chilians than the Peruvians, and much lighter in the young than in the old. He says it is certainly not a copper colour, as M. Lesson had described it. He discredits the assertion of Molina that the Boroas, who are a particular tribe in Chili, are very fair and have blue eyes.

The existence of this tribe of fair and even xanthous complexion in Chili has been a subject of controversy, and I must cite the authors whose testimony is most important in regard to it.

In the first place Molina, who is allowed by all to have been very accurately informed as to the history and description of the Chilians, gives the following account. "A tribe who dwell in the province of Boroa are of a clear white and red, without any intermixture of the copper colour." "As they differ in no respect from the other Chilians, this variety may be owing to some peculiar influence of their climate, or to the greater degree of civilisation which they possess: it is, however, attributed by the Spanish writers to the prisoners of that nation who were confined in this province during the unfortunate war of the sixteenth century; but as the Spanish prisoners were equally distributed among the other provinces of their conquerors, none of whose inhabitants are white, this opinion would seem to be unfounded. Besides," Molina continues, "as the first Spaniards who came to Chili were all from the southern provinces of Spain, where the ruddy complexion is rare, their posterity would not have exhibited so great a difference."

An extract from a Spanish work entitled "El Viagero Universal," given by Malte-Brun in the "Annales des Voyages," gives the most positive testimony upon this subject. The writer says:—"ils ont le teint brun-roux et plus clair que celui des autres Américains. *Ceux de la tribu des Boroanos sont même blancs et blonds.*"

Captain Fitzroy has given us an accurate and interesting account of the Araucanos in general, and of the tribe of Boroans in particular. In reference to the former he says:—"I was much struck by the peculiar physiognomy of those aboriginal natives whom I saw during my stay in Chili, and there must have been some ground for Mr. Darwin and myself remarking at different times, unknown at first to one another, that their countenances reminded us of portraits of Charles I. This was my impression at the first glance, but after a closer examination it wore off, and I thought less of that likeness than I did of their resemblance to the Hindoo race. There was neither the open honesty of a Patagonian, nor the brutal look of most Fuegians; but a sombre cast of depressed intelligence that at once said, 'we are restrained but not subdued.' Their countenances were less wide and

more swarthy than those to which our eyes had been accustomed,"—namely, the people further to the southward in Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego,—"and they eyed us with a sinister though resolute glance. They were men of middle stature, and formed more slightly than those of the south." The men of different provinces have some variety in dress. In other respects they were similar as to outward appearance, and their language is that of all southern Chili. "These Iancos, who live south of Valdivia, and the Rancos, are but portions of that collection of tribes usually known among Europeans by the celebrated name of Araucanians, but among the natives by the terms Molu-che, Huilli-che. I gazed on these Indians with intense interest while I reflected on the multiplied wrongs inflicted by the Spaniards on their ancestors."

"On the river Cauten was the city called 'the Imperial'—celebrated in Araucanian story,—and near its site live the Boroa tribe, some of whom have light-coloured eyes, fair complexions, and even red hair. I saw one of these Indians at Valdivia, who had blue eyes but dark hair. She told me that in her own country 'Boroa' there were many with eyes like hers; that some were 'rubios,' that is, of red and white complexion, and that a few had red hair. Her parents had told her that these people were descended from the Huincas, an Araucanian name for the Spaniards, meaning assassins. How the red hair originated is rather curious. I have heard of it from good authorities at other times while in Chili."*

Captain Fitzroy mentions the same phenomenon again. "This hostile tribe whose visit he was anticipating was that called 'Boroanos,' and by the Chilians Boroa-che. I have before said that in Boroa there are fair Indians. The Indian girl whom I mentioned as a captive agreed exactly in what she stated of them with the account which I had personally heard. She and the Boroana at Valdivia both said that the 'Rubios,' meaning red and white, or red-haired people, were children of the women whom their ancestors took prisoners when they destroyed the seven cities." Many of these

* Fitzroy's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 402.

"rubios" had blue eyes with rather fair complexions, and some few had red hair. Captain Fitzroy did not appear to give credence to this story. He adds: — "both of the Boroanos whom I saw had dark blue or grey eyes and a lighter complexion than other Indians, but their features were similar to those of their countrywomen, and they had long black hair."*

Such are the accounts relative to the fair Boroans. Notwithstanding the current notion among them, I think it evident from the reasons suggested by Molina that the peculiarities of these people cannot have arisen from the cause to which they are ascribed. The Spaniards themselves, especially those who went, as Molina says, from the south of Spain and colonised Chili, have not nor ever had the fairness of colour and the ruddy complexion, red hair, and blue eyes, which these people display. On the contrary, they are remarkably dark; and even, if a number of women of this "blonde" complexion had been taken captive by the Araucans, the colour must have worn out by intermixture during a long period of time. The individuals who have this peculiarity have, as it seems, no other character of a mixed race: their features are those of the pure breed of Araucanos. It cannot, as I think, be doubted, that the phenomena described are the results of natural variation of colour which has probably taken place under some local circumstances tending to favour its developement, and that it is precisely analogous, in kind, to the appearance of a light complexion and light hair which we have noticed in North America, among the Mandans of the race of Sioux and in some of the hill-tribes of the Rocky Mountains.

The Chilians in general appear to be a people of short stature. The average height is about five feet, while five feet six inches is mentioned as the stature of tall men. Mountaineers in South America are generally short, as M. d'Orbigny observes, while the inhabitants of plains are tall. Of this remark we shall find many illustrations. "The Araucans are square stout men, with robust limbs, but without,

* Page 465.

obesity, their joints large, their hands and feet small. The feet turn inwards, a peculiarity which gives them an awkward gait. The women are made like the men. They are quite destitute of beauty in the European sense. Their heads are large in proportion to the body; the countenance full, round, with prominent cheek-bones, large mouths, but thin lips in proportion to the people of the Pampas. Their teeth are good and remain sound in old age: their noses are flat, short, with wide nostrils, eyes placed horizontally and well open: the forehead neither broad nor elevated. Their expression varies: it is most frequently serious, thoughtful, and cold, but at the same time gentle and mild. The young women are rather pleasing, but they soon become muscular in appearance. Both sexes have long, black, strong hair like other native Americans. The men blacken their eyebrows as well as the scanty beard with which nature endows them."

Their moral character is proud, independent, bold, inconstant, full of dissimulation, taciturn. It is precisely similar to that of the Patagonians in the plains. The Araucanos are good fathers, husbands, indomitable warriors, and indefatigable travellers. They are now as free as before the conquest of the neighbouring countries.*

In the following section I shall enter somewhat further into the history of the Moluchian race.

SECTION IV.—*Of the Southern or Puelchian and Moluchian Races of South America.*

Under this term I include the races who occupy the great southern plains or pampas of South America as well as the "Island of Fire" beyond the Straits of Magellan. They are classed as a branch of the Andian nations on the hypothesis that they originally descended into the great level countries of Patagonia from the eastern side of the Cordillera. That chain extends, as it is well-known, in a straight line from

* M. d'Orbigny, tom. ii. loc. cit.

Peru, through Chili into Tierra del Fuego. It is in this direction that we may most easily imagine the southern extremity of the American continent to have been peopled. There are also other considerations which, as the reader will presently observe, give reason for adopting this classification.

The whole eastern country which lies between the Rio de la Plata and the Straits of Magellan is divided into two unequal portions by the "Rio Negro," Black River, or Cusu Leuvu. The plains to the northward of this last river are the Pampas: to the southward the country is termed Patagonia as far as the Straits.* The nature of the land and the race of people are, however, the same on both sides of the Rio Negro.

The best and almost the only account of these nations that existed until lately was that of Thomas Falkner, a Jesuit missionary, who resided in the country forty years, and possessed an extensive acquaintance with the people and their languages. Falkner divides the whole groupe of nations into two classes, which among themselves are termed, as he says, respectively Puelches and Moluches. The Puelches are the inhabitants of the eastern side of the continent from Buenos Ayres to the Strait: their name means "eastern people." The Moluches are the western tribes; the term means "warriors" or people devoted to warfare. They are said to occupy the whole western country from the Spanish settlement at Mendoza in Chili to the Strait. Their name recalls the fierce and indomitable valour of the Araucanos, who are supposed to be of this race, and are, in fact, included by Falkner in the division of Moluche.

The Puelche or eastern people are subdivided. Those who live farthest towards the north and border on Buenos Ayres are called Taluhets: the Divihets succeed to them, and live near the rivers Sanguel, Colorado, and Hueyque, near Casuhati. These two families compose the people who are termed

* The people were called Patagonians by the companions of Magalhaens. The word means "long feet" or "very large feet." See Observations on the Voyage of the Adventure and the Beagle, vol. ii. p. 133.

by the Spaniards Indians of the Pampas. The third and fourth groupes of Puelches are the Chechehets and Tehuelhets, who are by the Spaniards called Sierranos or Mountaineers, split into various subdivisions. They are to the southward of the former divisions of the race.

The Tehuelhets, or the fourth subdivision of Puelches, are the people known by the name of Patagonians. Most of these nations are equestrian nomades, but some tribes of Tehuelhets who live furthest to the southward are destitute of horses. They are named Yacana Cunnis, or Foot-people. They reach southwards beyond the Strait of Magalhaens and on both sides of that channel. They pass over it in light floats like those of Chiloe, and live partly by fishing and in part by the chase of guanacos and ostriches, being very nimble of foot. Their stature is much the same as that of the other Tehuelhets, rarely exceeding, as Falkner says, seven feet, and oftentimes not six feet.

Falkner says that the Moluches or western tribes are the people termed by the Spaniards Aucaes and Araucanos. The Araucanos are, as we have seen, a tribe of Chilians. The name of Moluche seems to be a very comprehensive one, since it includes, according to this writer, all the tribes dispersed over the country on both sides of the Cordillera of Chili, from the confines of Peru to the Straits of Magellan. The Moluche are divided by Falkner into the three following nations, the Picunches, the Pehuenches, and the Huiliches.

1. The Picunches are the most northern of these people: they are named from *Picun*, north, and *che*, people. They inhabit the mountains from Coquimbo to St. Jago of Chili. They are the most valiant and biggest bodied of the Moluche, especially those to the west of the Cordillera, among whom are the Araucans, whose name was given by mistake to the rest of the Chilians. "I knew," says Falkner, "some of their caciques."

2. The Pehuenches live to the south of the Picunches, viz. from over against Valdivia to the thirty-fifth degree of south latitude. They are named from *Pehuen*, a pine-tree, their country abounding in pine-trees.

These two nations were formerly very numerous, and they

were the people who almost drove the Spaniards out of Chili and destroyed the cities of "the imperial" Osorno and Villa Rica, and killed two of the Spanish presidents. "What has made the greatest havoc among them is the brandy which they buy, and their pulca or chica, which they make themselves. They often pawn and sell their wives and children to the Spaniards for brandy, with which they get drunk and then kill one another. The small-pox, introduced by Europeans, has caused a more terrible destruction than the plague, being more fatal to these people than either to the Spaniards or Negroes. They fly from the distemper and leave those who are seized by it to perish in the desert."

3. The Huiliches or Southern Moluches reach from Valdivia to the Straits of Magellan. They are divided into four nations. The first reaches to the sea of Chiloe and speaks the Chilenian tongue. The second are the nation of the Chonos, who live near and on the island of Chiloe. The third nation are the Poy-yus or Peyes, who inhabit the sea-coast to the fifty-first degree of south latitude, and from thence to the straits live the fourth nation, the Key-yus or Keyes. These three last are included in the term Vuta Huiliches or Great Huiliches, because they are bigger-bodied men than the first, viz. the Moluche, who were above said to speak the Chilenian tongue. Falkner adds:—"They seem likewise to be a different people, as the language they speak is a mixture of the Moluche and Tehuel languages. The other Huiliches"—he means the Chilenian division as above defined—"speak the same language as the Picunches and Pehuenches, interchanging some consonants, as *s* and *r*, *t* and *ch*." From this it appears that the southern Huiliche is remotely allied to the Chilian.

Captain Fitzroy, in his excellent narrative of the Voyage of the Adventure and the Beagle, has given us much additional information relating to the Patagonians and the Magellanic tribes. He identifies the Patagonians with the Tehuelhet of Falkner. He says that they are divided into four tribes, each of which has a separate but ill-defined territory. They possess or rather wander over the whole country from the Rio Negro to the Straits of Magalhaens, and from the

western to the eastern ocean. They have different caciques or chieftains, but all speak one language and are evidently but one nation. He excludes from this enumeration of tribes the hordes of Tierra del Fuego, whom he supposes to be the Yacana-cunny, Keyus, and Poy-yus. The Yacana-cunny, he says, are but little known. The tribe called Tekeeuica are probably those called formerly Keyus. They are the smallest and apparently the most wretched of the Fuegians. They inhabit the shores of Beagle Channel. To the westward between Beagle Channel and the Strait of Magalhaens is the tribe Alikhoolip, probably the Poy-yus. Near the middle part of the strait is the tribe called by Bougainville and others "Pécherais." Near the Otway and Skyring waters is a tribe called by Fitzroy Huemul, probably a branch of the Yacana.

The remark with which Captain Fitzroy concludes this enumeration contains something important. He says:— "Each of these tribes here specified speaks a language differing from that of any other, though I believe not radically different from the aboriginal Chilian. Some words are common to two or more tribes. In a vocabulary of the two languages of Tierra del Fuego, the Alikhoolip and Tekeeuica, which is given in the Appendix, the following words appear to be very analogous to the Chilian."

English.	*Alikhoolip.*	*Tekeeuica.*	*Chilian or Huiliche.*
Blood	shŭbbă	shŭbbă	
Dog	shilŏkĕ	shilăkĕ	
Sun	lum	lum	luv (bright light) lumulmen (to shine)
Moon	cŏnăk-ho	ănŏcŏ	cuyen
Fire	tĕt-tal		kut-hal
Father	cha-ul		chao
Day	ănŏqual		antiugh
Hand	yuccaba		oue, cuugh
Salt water	chauăsh	sheama	chusi-co*

It is plain that Fitzroy supposed the Fuegians to be of the

* These words are taken from Captain Fitzroy's Vocabulary in the Appendix.

same stock as the Patagonians. This appears, however, as yet not well-established. Falkner says:—"All the Tehuelhets or Patagonians speak a different language from the other Puelches and the Moluches, and this difference extends to grammatical forms; they use, however, or perhaps they have in common some words of both nations." There seems to be some ground for believing the people of Tierra del Fuego to be connected with the Moluche, but as yet some doubt as to the Patagonians.

The following is a probable enumeration of these races. Allowing that the

Tehuelhet or Patagonians amount to	1,600
Yacana	600
Tekeeuica	500
Alikhoolip	400
Pecheray	200
Huemul	100
Chonos	400
The total will be	3,800

Paragraph 2.—Of the Patagonians or Tehuelhet.

"The aboriginal nations of eastern Patagonia," says Capt. Fitzroy, "are a tall and extremely stout race of men. Their bodies are bulky, their heads and features large, yet their hands and feet are comparatively small. Their limbs are neither so muscular nor so large-boned as their height and apparent bulk would induce one to suppose; they are also rounder and smoother than those of white men. Their colour is a rich reddish brown, between that of rusty iron and clean copper, rather darker than copper, yet not so dark as good old mahogany. But every shade of colour between that just mentioned and the lighter hue of a copper kettle may be seen among individuals of various ages. Excepting among old or sickly people, I did not notice a tinge of yellow: some of the women are lighter coloured, about the tint of pale copper; but none are fair, according to our ideas.

"The toldos (huts) of these wanderers are in shape not unlike gipsy tents. Poles are stuck in the ground, to which others are fastened, and skins of animals, sewed together, form the covering, so that an irregular tilt-shaped hut is thus made. Three sides and the top are covered; but the front, turned towards the east, is open. These toldos are about seven feet high, and ten or twelve feet square; they are lower at the back, or western side, than in front by several feet. These are their ordinary dwellings; of other rather larger constructions a description will be given hereafter.

"The country inhabited by these Patagonians is open, and generally speaking rather level, but with occasional hills, and some extensive ranges of level-topped heights or steppes. There are very few trees, and water is scarce. The eye wanders over an apparently boundless extent of parched, yellow-looking semi-desert, where rain seldom falls, and the sky is almost always clear. The heats of summer are very great; but in winter, though the days are not cold, the frosts at night are severe; and at all times in the year, in the day-time, strong winds sweep over the plains.

"The head of a Patagonian is rather broad, but not high; and except in a few instances the forehead is small and low. His hair hangs loosely; it is black, coarse, and very dirty. A fillet which is worn round the top of the head may be intended as an ornament, for it is certainly of no use. The brow is prominent; the eyes are rather small, black, and ever restless. Deficiency of eyebrow adds to the peculiar expression of their eyes; and a mixture of simplicity and shrewdness, daring and timidity, with that singular wild look which is never seen in civilised man, is very conspicuous in the Patagonians. Its immediate effect is to remind one of the necessity of being always on guard whilst within reach; yet of all savage nations, perhaps the Patagonians are least inclined to attack or deceive strangers.

"By nature they have but little hair on either face or body, and that little they try to eradicate. Their faces are roundish, and the width or projection of the cheek-bones makes them look unusually wide. The nose is a little depressed, narrow between the eyes, but broad and fleshy about the nostrils,

which are rather large. Their mouth is large, and coarsely formed, with thick lips. Their teeth are often very good, though rather large; and those in front have the peculiarity, which will be discussed when speaking of the Fuegians, of being flattened, solid, and shewing an inner substance. The chin is usually broad and prominent; all the features indeed are large, excepting the eyes. The expression of their countenance is open and honest (compared with other savages), and their intrepid contented look is rather prepossessing.

"Of the stature and bulk of these Indians I have already spoken. It appears to me that those who now live on the northern side of Magelhaens' Straits are descendants of the Patagonians whose size excited so much surprise and discussion; and that occasionally individuals have exceeded the common height. Speaking of Cangapol, whose chief resort was the vicinity of the river Negro, though he and his tribe were restless wanderers, Falkner says, 'This chief, who was called by the Spaniards 'Cacique bravo,' was very tall and well-proportioned. He must have been seven feet and some inches in height, because, on tiptoe, I could not reach to the top of his head. I was very well acquainted with him, and went some journeys in his company. I do not recollect ever to have seen an Indian that was above an inch or two taller than Cangapol. His brother, Sausinian, was but about six feet high.'

"The principal subsistence of these Indians is the flesh of mares, ostriches, cavies, or guanacoes; but though they are not particular, and eat almost anything that they can catch, the flesh of young mares is preferred to any other. They boil their meat, and eat it with a lump of fat, and salt. The fat of mares and that of ostriches are boiled together, and put into bladders; but the fat of guanacoes is eaten raw, being preferred in that state. There are two roots that they eat, one called *tus*, the other *chālăs*. The tus is a bulbous root, growing wild, which when cleaned and baked, or rather roasted, becomes mealy, like a yam. They use it sometimes with their meat, but not often. The chālăs is a long white root, about the size of a goose-quill. It is either roasted in the embers, or put into broth, which they make for women

and sick people. When on the sea-coast, limpets and muscles are gathered by the women and children; but fish and seals are seldom obtained. Dogs are not eaten, neither are horses, unless disabled by an accident."

I shall conclude this section with some facts illustrative of their psychological history.

Falkner gives the following account of the notions of these people connected with religion, by which it appears that they are strongly contrasted with the sentiments prevalent among the North American races.

"The Indians imagine that there is a multiplicity of deities, some good, others evil. At the head of the good deities is Guayara-kunny, or the lord of the dead. The chief evil agent is called Atskannakanath, or Valichu. This latter name is applied to every evil demon.

"They think that the good deities have habitations in vast caverns under the earth, and that when an Indian dies, his soul goes to live with the deity who presides over his particular family.

"They believe that their good deities made the world, and that they first created the Indians in the subterranean caverns above-mentioned; gave them the lance, the bow and arrows, and the bulls, to fight and hunt with, and then turned them out to shift for themselves. They imagine that the deities of the Spaniards created them in a similar manner, but that instead of lances, bows, &c., they gave them guns and swords. They say that when the beasts, birds, and lesser animals were created, those of the more nimble kind came immediately out of the caverns; but that the bulls and cows being the last, the Indians were so frightened at the sight of their horns that they stopped the entrances of their caves with great stones. This is the grave reason they give why they had no black cattle in their country, till the Spaniards brought them over, who more wisely had let them out of their caves.

"Some say that the stars are old Indians; that the milky way is the field where old Indians hunt ostriches, and that the Magellanic clouds are the feathers of the ostriches which they kill. They have an opinion that the creation is not yet ex-

hausted, nor all of it yet come out to the daylight of this upper world. The wizards, beating their drums, and rattling their hide-bags full of shells or stones, pretend to see into other regions under the earth. Each wizard is supposed to have familiar spirits in attendance, who give supernatural information, and execute the conjuror's will. They believe that the souls of their wizards after death are of the number of those demons, called Valichu, to whom every evil or unpleasant event is attributed.

" Their religious worship is entirely directed to the powers of evil, except in some particular ceremonies made use of in reverence to the dead."

The resemblance between the practices of these wizards and those of the Siberian Shamans is really surprising.

" To perform their worship they assemble together in the tent of the wizard, who is shut up from the sight of the rest in a corner. In this seclusion he has a small drum, one or two round calabashes, or bags of dry hide, with small sea-shells in them, and some square bags of painted hide in which he keeps his spells. He begins the ceremony by making a strange noise with his drum and rattle-bags; after which he feigns a fit, or struggle with the evil spirit, who, it is then supposed, has entered into him; keeps his eyes turned up, distorts his face, foams at the mouth, screws up his joints, and after many violent and distorting motions, remains stiff and motionless, resembling a man seized with epilepsy. After some time he comes to himself, as having overcome the demon's influence; next he feigns, behind his screen, a faint, shrill, mournful voice, as of the evil spirit, who by this dismal cry is supposed to acknowledge himself subdued; and then the wizard, from a kind of tripod, answers all questions that are put to him.

" Whether his answers are true or false, is of very little consequence; because, if his intelligence should prove false, it is the fault of the demon or Valichu. On all these occasions the wizard is well paid.

" The profession of the wizard is very dangerous, notwithstanding the respect that is sometimes paid to them; for it often happens, when an Indian chief dies, that some of the

wizards are killed, especially if they had any dispute with the chief just before his death; the Indians, in this case, attributing the loss of their cacique to the wizards and their demons. In cases also of pestilence and epidemic disorders, when great numbers are carried off, the wizards often suffer.

" On account of the small-pox, which almost destroyed the Chechehet tribe, Cangapol ordered all the wizards to be killed, to see if by such means the distemper would cease.

" There are wizards and witches. The former are obliged to dress in female apparel, and are not allowed to marry. The latter are not restricted. Wizards are generally chosen when children; and a preference is always shown to those who, at that time of life, discover an effeminate disposition. They are clothed very early in female attire, and presented with the drum and rattles belonging to the profession which they are to follow. Those who are seized with fits of the falling sickness, or the ' Chorea Sancti Viti' (St. Vitus's dance), are immediately chosen for this employment, as selected by the demons themselves, whom they suppose to possess them, and to cause all those convulsions and distortions common in epileptic paroxysms.

" The burial of the dead, and the superstitious reverence paid to their memory, are attended with great ceremony. When an Indian dies, one of the most distinguished women among them is immediately chosen to make a skeleton of his body; which is done by cutting out the entrails, which they burn to ashes, dissecting the flesh from the bones as clean as possible, and then burying them underground till the remaining flesh is entirely rotted off, or till they are removed (which must be within a year after the interment, but is sometimes within two months,) to the proper burial-place of their ancestors.

" This custom is strictly observed by the Molu-che, Taluhet, and Diuihet, but the Chechehet and Tehuelhet, or Patagonians, place the bones on high, upon canes or twigs woven together, to dry and whiten with the sun and rain.

" During the time that the ceremony of making the skeleton lasts, the Indians, covered with long mantles of skins, and their faces blackened with soot, walk round the tent,

with long poles or lances in their hands, singing in a mournful tone of voice, and striking the ground to frighten away the Valichus, or evil spirits. Some go to visit and console the widow or widows, and other relations of the dead, that is, if there is any thing to be got; for nothing is done but with a view of interest. During this visit of condolence they cry, howl, and sing in the most dismal manner; straining out tears, and pricking their arms and thighs with sharp thorns to make them bleed. For this shew of grief they are paid with glass beads, brass cascabels, and such-like baubles, which are in high estimation among them. The horses of the dead are also immediately killed, that he may have wherewithal to ride upon in the 'alhue mapin,' or country of the dead, reserving only a few to grace the last funeral pomp, and to carry the relics to their proper sepulchres.

"When they remove the bones of their dead, they pack them up together in a hide, and place them upon one of the deceased's favourite horses, kept alive for that purpose, which they adorn after their best fashion, with mantles, feathers, &c., and travel in this manner, though it be to the distance of three hundred leagues, till they arrive at the proper burial-place, where they prepare the last ceremony.

"The Molu-che, Taluhet, and Diuihet bury their dead in large square pits, about a fathom deep. The bones are put together, and secured by tying each in its proper place, then clothed with all the best robes they can get, adorned with beads, plumes, &c., all of which they cleanse or change once a year. They are placed in a row, sitting, with the sword, lance, bow and arrows, bowls, and whatever else the deceased had while alive. These pits are covered over with trees, canes, or branches woven together, upon which they put earth. An old matron is chosen out of each tribe, to take care of these graves, and on account of her employment is held in great veneration. Her office is to open every year these dreary habitations, and to clothe and clean the skeletons. Besides all this they every year pour upon these graves some bowls of their first-made chicha, and drink some of it themselves to the good health of the dead. (N.B. Not so the Tehuelhet.)

" These burial-places are, in general, not far distant from their ordinary habitations; and they place, all around, the bodies of their dead horses, raised upon their feet and supported with sticks.

" The Tehuelhet, or more southern Patagonians, differ in some respects from the other Indians. After having dried the bones of their dead, they carry them to a great distance from their habitations into the desert by the sea-coast; and after placing them in their proper form, and adorning them in the manner before described, they set them in order above ground, under a hut or tent erected for that purpose, with the skeletons of their dead horses placed around them."

Section V.—*Of the Magellanians or Natives of the Magellanic Archipelago termed Tierra del Fuego.*

We are assured that the north-eastern part of this island is a better country than Patagonia. The inhabitants are divided, as we have seen, into several tribes. Captain Fitzroy distinguishes the Yacana-cunnées in the north-east of the island, who have been described by Falkner as a part of the Puelchian nations, and the Tekeeuica and Alikhoolip, whom he identifies with the Pey-hus and Key-uhs of Falkner, who are two tribes of Moluchians. He gives the following account of these tribes.

The Yacana-kunny, natives of the north-eastern part of Tierra del Fuego, resemble the Patagonians in colour, stature, and clothing, excepting boots. They seem to be nearly in the same condition in which the Patagonians must have been before they had horses. With their dogs, with bows and arrows, balls, slings, lances, and clubs, they kill guanacos, ostriches, birds, and seals.

The Tekeeuica, natives of the south-eastern portion of Tierra del Fuego, are low in stature, ill-looking, and badly proportioned. Their colour is that of very old mahogany, or rather between dark copper or bronze. The trunk of the body is large in proportion to their cramped and rather crooked limbs. Their rough, coarse, and dirty black hair

heightens the villainous expression of their savage features. Passing much time in low wigwams or cramped in small boats, they have their legs injured in shape and size; but they are nimble and strong.

The Alikhoolip tribe are much stouter and hardier. Though not very dissimilar they are superior to the Tekeeuica, but inferior to the Patagonians or Yacana, and far below the Californians. They live on narrow inlets of the sea intersecting high mountainous islands.

The people of the interior of the island are almost as miserable a race as the Tekeeuica.

The following is an extract containing the description of the Pesherais, the tribe inhabiting Orange Harbour, which I take from the Exploring Voyage of the United States Government. The writer says:—"Before our departure from Orange Harbour, a bark canoe came alongside with an Indian, his squaw, and four children. The tribe to which they belonged is known by the name of the Petcherai Indians. They were entirely naked, with the exception of a small piece of seal-skin, only sufficient to cover one shoulder, and which is generally worn on the side from which the wind blows, affording them some little shelter against its piercing influence. They were not more than five feet high, of a light copper colour, which is much concealed by smut and dirt, particularly on their faces, which they mark vertically with charcoal. They have short faces, narrow foreheads, and high cheek bones. Their eyes are small and usually black, the upper eyelid in the inner corner overlapping the under one, and bear a strong resemblance to those of the Chinese. Their nose is broad and flat, with wide-spread nostrils, mouth large, teeth white, large, and regular. The hair is long, lank, and black, hanging over the face, and is covered with white ashes, which gives them a hideous appearance. The whole face is compressed. Their bodies are remarkable from the great developement of the chest, shoulders, and vertebral column; their arms are long, and out of proportion; their legs small and ill-made. There is, in fact, little difference between the size of the ankle and leg; and when standing, the skin at the knee hangs in a large loose fold. In some,

the muscles of the leg appear almost wanting, and possess very little strength. This want of developement in the muscles of the legs is owing to their constant sitting posture, both in their huts and canoes. Their skin is sensibly colder than ours. It is impossible to fancy any thing in human nature more filthy. They are an ill-shapen and ugly race."

I shall conclude these accounts of the natives of Tierra del Fuego with a part of the description of their physical characters, drawn up, as it appears, with great care by Mr. Wilson, surgeon to the expedition of the Adventure and the Beagle, printed in the Appendix to the Narrative.

He remarks a general resemblance of the Magellanic islanders to the Esquimaux in their form and in the fatness and smoothness of their bodies. Their food is shell-fish and birds, but the greatest dainty is fat of all kinds, and that of the seal and penguin in particular.

The complexion of a man who was minutely examined by Mr. Wilson was dark; his skin of a copper colour, the general hue of the race; the eyes and hair black, the latter straight, long, and luxuriant, though with little beard and no whiskers.

The features of this individual were rounder than they generally are among his nation, the form of whose countenance resembles that of the Esquimaux and Laplander: they have broad faces with projecting cheek-bones: the eyes of an oval form and drawn towards the temples; the tunica sclerotica of a yellow white, and the iris deep black; the cartilage of the nose broad and depressed; the mouth large; when shut, forming a straight line, when open, an ellipse; the facial angle 74°. In another skull the facial angle was 76°.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SECOND CLASS OF SOUTH AMERICAN NATIONS, VIZ. EASTERN NATIONS OF THAT CONTINENT.

SECTION I.—*General Observations.*

UNDER the term Eastern Nations of South America, I mean to include the native races of the "Banda Oriental" or the countries to the northward of the Rio de la Plata along the coast of the Atlantic to the River of Amazons and the Orinoko, and thence along the coast of Terra Firma, which is the northern side of the continent facing the Gulf of Mexico. The western or inland boundary of this region, or rather of the groupe of nations who are its inhabitants, is not so well defined. In the latitude of the Maragnon it reaches almost to the Cordillera, but further to the south it leaves the interior countries of the Chiquitos and Moxos, and the plains of the Great Chaco, as well as the basins of the Paraguay and Uruguay rivers, to be included in the third or inland department.

The countries included within these limits are very similar in their general description. They contain neither very elevated mountains or table-lands comparable to those of the Peruvian Andes, nor vast open sterile plains, similar to the Pampas or the plains bordering on the Paraguay. The surface is everywhere undulated, traversed by small hills or inferior mountain-ridges covered with interminable forests, which seem to be as ancient as the world: vegetation is here vigorous and luxuriant on a soil fertilised by innumerable streams and intersected by great rivers. In the midst of these forests are small open spaces cleared by art or left uncovered by the hand of nature, where scattered hordes of the native races live on the fruits of the earth and the pro-

duce of the chase or of fisheries, and in some instances by cultivating the soil.*

M. d'Orbigny has given the following account of the physical characters of this class of nations in general.

The colour of their skin is yellow—*jaunâtre*—mixed with a slight tinge of very pale red. This colour, says M. d'Orbigny, distinguishes them completely from all the other nations of South America. It is nearly the complexion which is ascribed to the Polynesian nations, but rather less yellow. It wants that brown tinge which characterises the people of the mountainous region as well as those of the plains or Pampas. The shade, he observes, is not everywhere the same, and local circumstances have much influence on the degree of its intensity. "The Guarani of Corrientes and the Chiriguanos of Bolivia have a much deeper hue, as they inhabit plains and countries without wood, while the Guarayos and the Sirionos of the same race, who live constantly in the midst of forests impenetrable to the solar rays, are not much darker in complexion than many of the people of Southern Europe."

The stature of these nations is short: it varies, according to M. d'Orbigny, from five feet to five feet four inches. The shape of the body is stout or "massive," the chest broad and elevated, the shoulders broad, the haunches strong, the limbs round and without prominent muscles, the hands and feet small. These people are distinguished from the nations of the open plains by the large proportions of their limbs. The females are short, stout, and of broad figure. The Guarayos, who are of the Guarani race but inhabit "humid forests," have acquired a more graceful shape and almost European proportions.

The features of the Guarani, taken by M. d'Orbigny as typical of this class of nations, are distinguishable at a glance from those of other races in South America. Their heads are round, not laterally compressed; their forehead is not retreating; on the contrary, it is high, and its flatness in some nations is attributable to art. The face is nearly round, the nose short, not broad, the nostrils less open than in other

* M. d'Orbigny, tom. ii. p. 267. Don Felix de Azara, Hist. de Paraguay.

races; the mouth moderate, but somewhat projecting; the lips rather thin; the eyes small, expressive, sometimes oblique, always elevated at the outer angle, like those of the Mongolians. M. Rochefort, speaking of the Caribbees of the Antilles, compares them to the Chinese, and we shall find that other writers have been struck with this resemblance. The chin is round and short, not reaching so forward as the mouth; the cheek-bones do not appear prominent except in old age; the eye-brows are arched; the hair is long, straight, thick, and strong, the beard reduced to a few short straight hairs on the chin and upper lip: this is not the effect of art. I shall add in M. d'Orbigny's words a very curious observation on a particular tribe of the Guarani, who form an exception to the almost beardless state of these nations. He says:—

"Nous nous sommes bien assurés que ce peu de barbe ne provient pas de la coutume de l'épilation, comme chez beaucoup de peuples sauvages, l'ayant trouvé le même chez les Guaranis soumis au Christianisme, et qui ont abandonné cet usage général parmi la nation; mais un fait bien curieux est cette exception remarquable qui existe chez les Guarayos, tous pourvus d'une barbe longue, qui couvre la lèvre supérieure, le menton, et même les cotés des joues. Cette barbe pourrait se comparer à celle des Européens, si elle n'avait un caractère constant, celui de n'être jamais frisée, et d'être même aussi droite que les cheveux. La présence d'une barbe fournie chez une tribu de cette nation prèsqu' imbarbe, serait-elle encore la suite de l'influence local, qui amène, comme on l'a vu, tant d'autres modifications physiques? Nous serions tenté de repondre affirmativement; car il nous est bien prouvé, par les recherches que nous avons pu faire sur les lieux, que ce fait ne résulte pas du mélange de cette tribu aux races Européennes, avec lesquels elle n'a jamais eu de contact."*

* D'Orbigny, ouv. cit. tom. ii. p. 298.

Section II.—*The Tupio-Guaranian Family of Nations.*

Among the nations belonging to this division of the aboriginal South Americans, one family at least is spread very extensively over different regions of the continent. In the Brasils they are termed Tupi, and in the countries formerly subjected to Spain Guarani. The great Tupian or Guaranian race is spread over the whole eastern coast of South America, from the mouth of the Rio de la Plata or from the Uruguay, which falls into that estuary, to the mouth of the Maragnon or River of Amazons. How far it may extend thence towards the north is less known. It is probable, as Azara supposed, that people of the same stock reach as far as Guiana.* It is the opinion of most writers that the greater part of the native population of the Brasils consists of tribes belonging to this kindred. We are better informed as to the southern ramification of the stock, where they are well known in the country reaching to the sixteenth degree of south latitude, and even as far as Monte Video and the Rio de la Plata. Over all this country they had been dispersed in particular points. They possessed in the vicinity of Buenos Ayres the territory of Ysidro and the isles of the Parana. In the upper region of Paraguay they had stretched nearly across the central parts of the continent, and in the province of Chiquitos and in Chaco were spread as far as the eastern feet of the Andes and in the valleys of that great chain. They possessed extensive districts in this region before the reign of the celebrated conqueror, the Inca Lloque Yupanqui, which they still inhabit.

Besides these undoubted colonies of the Guaranian race, a numerous and well-known people in the remote parts of South America are referred by some writers to the same stock, with which their language affords sufficient proof that they have been in some manner connected. A great and remarkable nation, whom Hervas† terms the Phœnicians of South America from their skill in navigating the great inland rivers, and

* Hist. de Paraguay.

† Hervas, Catalog. delle Ling. p. 23.

from their spirit of enterprise, were known to Condamine and other explorers of the Maragnon under the names of Omagua, Yurumagua, Aissuaris, Yahua, Pevas, Cahumaris, and Ticuña.* The first of these designations has been adopted by most writers as the general epithet of this groupe. These people were known a century before the voyage of La Condamine on the River of Amazons as possessing the isles and shores of that stream through an extent of two hundred leagues from the confluence of the river Napo. Father Girval places them on the banks of the Yahura, which falls into the Maragnon between the Putumajo and the Rio Negro.† It is highly probable that the numerous people found in earlier times by the adventurous Orellana on the banks of the River Maragnon were of the race of these same Omaguas. They still exist in this region, though at the present day the country is thinly peopled. But the Omagua were not supposed by La Condamine to be native inhabitants of the shores of the Maragnon. It was conjectured by that voyager that they originated from New Granada, and had, in flying from the Spanish conquerors, made their way down some of the rivers which have their sources in the high central country and fall into the great inland river of South America. Near the head of one of those rivers on the borders of Peru, a tribe is known bearing the same designation of Omagua, and distinguished in habits from the neighbouring nations. The Omagua of Quito, however, assured the missionaries that the principal body of their race was to be found on the Maragnon, and that these northern Omagua were people who had fled from the Maragnon on the appearance of the vessels sent down by

* M. de la Condamine, Voy. à la Rivière des Amazones, p. 68. Hervas, lib. cit. p. 65. Vater, Mithrid. 3, p. 598.

† M. de la Condamine has given some account of these tribes. He says:— "Le nom d'Omagua dans la langue du Pérou, ainsi que celui de Camberas, que leur donnent les Portugais du Para dans la langue du Brésil, signifie 'tête plâte:' en effet, ces peuples ont la bizarre coutume de presser entre deux planches le front des enfans qui viennent de naître. La langue des Omaguas est aussi douce et aussi aisée à prononcer et même à apprendre que celle des Yamous est rude et difficile. Elle n'a aucun rapport à celle du Pérou, ni à celle du Brésil." Voy. à la Rivière des Amazones, p. 70.

Pizarro, and who sought refuge on the Negro and Tocantin rivers and in other districts in the borders of New Granada. Veigl considered it more probable that the Omagua as well as the Cocama, who were first discovered on the Ucayale, came to the Maragnon from the south-east. This opinion was founded on the great resemblance of their language to that of the native tribes of Brasil: even in Paraguay many local names are recognised which are akin to the Omagua, which is not surprising when we advert to the known resemblance of the Omagua and Guarani languages: to this last the idiom of the Chiriguanos in Paraguay belongs. Whichever of these opinions may be correct as to the original position of the Omagua, that great nation is widely spread from north to south, and many remote tribes appear by their names to be referable to the same stock.* It was the opinion of Abbé Gilii and several other Jesuit missionaries who are cited by Hervas and by Vater, that several nations in this part of America, viz. on the high lands of the Upper Orinoko, from the tenth to the fourth degree of north latitude, having the names of Agua, Enagua, Paragua, are akin to the Omagua. The name of Omagua is supposed by some of these writers to be derived of Agua, the national name, and Uma, the Quichuan term for *head*, with an allusion to the custom of flattening the heads which prevailed among this people, as well as among several other American nations.

The Abbé Velasco, who communicated information to Hervas on the languages of Quito and their grammatical systems, maintained that all the tribes of people who are spread over New Granada and other countries to the northward and southward of the Maragnon through the space of fifteen hundred leagues, and whose dialects are related to the speech either of the Omagua or the Guarani, belong properly to the race of the Omaguas. He affirms this expressly in regard to the Cocama on the Ucayale, at the distance of twelve days' journey from the mouth of that river; likewise of the Yete and the Napo, and of the Tocantin, living much further eastward on the river of that name, which falls into

* See Hervas, Catalogo delle Lingue, art. v. p. 65.

the Para. The speech of the Cocama exists in two dialects, the Cocamillo and the Huebo. Veigl, whom Vater has termed a very accurate writer, gives the same account of the Cocamilla. Hervas also reckons the Tocantin among the languages allied to the Guarani, as well as to the Tupi. The Tocantin inhabit the country intermediate between the Omagua and the Guarani.

The following specimen of the resemblance in words between the Guarani and Omagua languages is given by Hervas. The words from the Tupi at the same time indicate the connection of the widely-dispersed speech of the Brasils with the language of Paraguay on one side, and that of the Upper Maragnon and Orinoko on the other.

English.	*Guarani of Southern Paraguay.*	*Tupi of Brasil.*	*Omagua of the Maragnon.*
Dog	yagua	yaguara	yahuara
Flesh	zoo	coo	zu
Son (paternal expression)	taï *or* tayi	tairà	teigra
Son (maternal expression)	membi	membira	meinuera
Light	hendi	cendi	cana
Wolf	aguara guazu	yagua-rucu	yahuara puana
Husband	me	mêna	mena
Wife	tembirecò	temireco	mericua
(sabbia)	ibi-cuiti	ibi-cui	itini
Tobacco	peti	pitima	petema.*

The missionaries who were in the country personally acquainted with both nations have no scruple in setting down the Omagua language as cognate with the Guarani. Vater, however, entertained some doubt upon this subject. He observes that it differs in grammatical structure from the Guarani. Perhaps this difference may be accounted for. It is possible that the Omagua race may have modified their language under the influence of the Quichua during the prevalence of the power of the Incas over them.†

* Hervas, Catalogo delle Lingue, p. 24.

† Some additional particulars relating to the nation of the Guarani are to be found in a memoir by Don Rui Diaz de Guzman, contained in the compilation of Piedro de Angelis. Journal of the Royal Geogr. Soc. of London, 1837, p. 353.

Paragraph 2.—The Tupi, and other Tribes of Brasil akin to the Tupi.

The general language of the natives of Brasil, says Hervas, is called Tupi from the national appellation of the first Indians who were converted to the holy faith. The Tupi, he adds, is an excellent dialect of the Guarani, from which it differs not more than the Spanish from the Portuguese. Father Joseph Ancheta was the first who wrote a grammar and dictionary of the Tupi, which he published, together with an exposition of the Catholic doctrine, for the use of the Indians of the Capitania de San Vincenzo, where the first missions were established. The people of that district gave themselves the designation of Tupi. The Tupi, who are called by some writers Tapi, inhabited all the sea-coast of Brasil from the river St. Francisco Sar to the Barro de Santos and the inland country of the province of St. Vincenzo, now called St. Paul de Priatenerifa. There were many nations or tribes who spoke the Tupi with very little variation. "The following," says Hervas, "are known to me: 1. The Cariyos, the principal nation of Brasil, adjoining the Tupi on the south, who reach to the Rio Grande del Sud towards the thirty-second degree of south latitude. 2. The Tamoyos reach northward from the Tupi to the twenty-second degree of south latitude. 3. The Tupinaqui, the Timimini, the Tobayari, and the Tupinambi occupied the sea-coast; the Tupinaenzi, the Amoipiri,* the Ibimayari, and others who inhabit the inland country of the Rio Grande; the Potiyuari, called also Tiyuari and Paraibas, because they lived on the river Paraiba, the Tupinambi of the coast as far as Para, and those of the river Maragnon; the Apanti, on that river; the Tupigoai, the Araboyari, the Rarogoarai, are so many nations or rather tribes of Tupi having various names. Lastly, the Tocantini, a fierce and barbarous people, named after the river Tocantin, speak a

* Amoipiri means, in the Guarani language, People of the other river. Vater, 3, 440.

language supposed by some to be different from the Tupi because it was well known to be similar to the Omagua." Thus far Hervas.* A similar enumeration was given by De Laet, which has been extracted by Vater.†

MM. Spix and Martius, in the narrative of their travels in South America, have enumerated the tribes of the Tupi race found in Brasil. They represent their language as reaching in the interior as far as Mainas and the Solimöes, who themselves spoke the idiom founded on the Tupi, termed Lengua Geral, or the General Language of Brasil. These writers have given the following observations on the distinguishing traits of the Tupian races in comparison with the other nations spread through the same region of South America. "If we collect the earliest descriptions of the Tupi races, they agree in the following traits. 1. They were of contentious warlike dispositions, and courageous, not cowardly and stupid like the Goainazes, who never eat human flesh. They made prisoners in war, whom for a time they fed, and then slew and consumed as sacrifices, and in expression of their hostile rage. In this instance alone they were cannibals: they never ate human flesh to satisfy their appetite like the Aimores or Botocudos. 2. They dwelt in large open huts, like *aldeas*, which held many families, and slept in hammocks, while the Aimores, Goainazes, Carejos, Goyatucazes, wandered about in single pairs and passed the nights upon the ground or in long clay huts without hammocks. 3. They cultivate, in the neighbourhood of their aldeas, at least some plants, as the pacoba, mandioc, and maize, while the nations above mentioned despise all cultivation, and live merely on hunting and fishing and the produce of warfare. 4. They are accustomed to the watery element as fishers and swimmers. They fight, swimming, the sharks on the coasts, build great canoes, make voyages of considerable extent, and hold sea councils. The Aimores, although they are described as stronger in body, are yet so unacquainted with the art of swimming that a deep river is a defence from their attacks. These people never make war in numerous bodies, and are

* Catal. delle Lingue, p. 24, 25. † Mith. 3, p. 459.

not accustomed, like the Tupian race, to fortify their aldeas with palisades. It is thus evident that the Tupi stand in a higher grade of culture than many of their neighbours. It seems from tradition that the Tupian race are not aborigines in the Brasils. They observe that the Guarani language, which many considerations point out as the parent stock of all the Tupian dialects, indicates the original position of the race to have been between the Paraguay and the Parana rivers. The migration of the Tupis up the river Madera to the island of Topinambarana appears less difficult to conceive." This was asserted by Aranha, who maintained that the Topinambazes, oppressed by the colonists of Brasil, and being in too great numbers to obtain subsistence, retired to the Capitania of Pernambuco, where they had established eighty-four great communities towards the boundaries of Peru, and afterwards forsaking the neighbourhood of the upper part of the Madera made their course along that river to Topinambarana. From the mouth of the Rio de la Plata these races may be traced along the coast of the ocean as far as the River of Amazons, and along that stream, which is a common medium of communication for numerous races: it appears in different places on the shores of the Tapajoz and the Madera. The coast Indians sprung from the old Tupis between Porto Segaro and of Maranham have already nearly given up their language, and there are now but scanty remains of the Lengua Geral, the mass of the people speaking Portuguese, while the former is even now heard in Para and everywhere on the Rio Negro where intercourse has taken place between the Indians and the newcomers."

"It appears, then, that these unconquered hordes, who have firmly retained their original language, have always moved towards the north, where the scanty European population and the boundless forests afforded them an asylum. But here they met with numerous other races who spoke different languages, yet this conflict has not confined the Tupian language, although it may have been changed from its original type, which is the Lingua Guaranitica. This latter is the fuller and purer dialect. The dialect which is spoken on the Rio Negro is more condensed and convenient in use." Between

these two extremes there are many degrees, chiefly manifesting themselves in a different utterance of many syllables and the change of certain letters. It is this want of precision that renders the Tupi language most fitted to become a medium of intercourse between different races, or "the General Language," as it is termed. We find no traces of the sixteen distinct tribes mentioned by Hervas in the passage above cited as belonging to the Tupian race.

It seems to be the opinion of the writers whom I have cited that the migration of Tupian tribes towards the northwest, viz. to the countries bordering on the Rio Negro, which is at an immense distance from Brasil, took place subsequently to the arrival of the Portuguese. But they date the passage of the Guarani from Paraguay into the Brasils at a much earlier period. There seems, however, to be no obvious reason against the supposition, in itself most probable, that they migrated westward at the same time. The Omagua and other kindred people of the Upper Maragnon and Orinoko, who have undoubted traces of the Guarani language in their dialects, appear to have been ancient inhabitants of those countries, and they probably lived upon the banks of the River of Amazons at the time of the voyage of Orellana. This, however, would not be any obstacle to the supposition that other hordes of the same stock from the country of the proper Tupians or Brasilians may not more recently have moved in the same direction.

Paragraph 3.—The Guarani of Paraguay.

The best account of the Guarani of Paraguay is to be found in the work of Don Felix de Azara. This writer gives also some general observations on the history of the race, which will be read with interest.

"At the epoch of the discovery of America," says Azara, "the Guarani nation occupied, to the best of my belief, all that the Portuguese afterwards possessed in Brasil and Guiana. To confine myself to the limits of my own treatise," which is the one entitled the History of Paraguay, "their

country extended to the northward of the Charruas, Bohunes, and Minuanes, to the parallel of 16° S. L., without passing to the westward of the rivers Paraguay and Parana, except at the two extremities of this line; that is, it occupied the territory of San-Ysidro and Las Conchas, near Buenos Ayres, and the southern rise of the river towards the thirtieth degree with all its islands; towards the northern extremity it passed to the westward of the river Paraguay, and penetrated into the province of Los Chiquitos, as far as the great Cordillera of the Andes, where there was a great number of this nation under the name of Chiriguanos. But we must observe that between the Chiriguanos or the Guaranis of Los Chiquitos and the great body of the same people, there was a vast space of intermediate country occupied by a variety of different nations. We must also observe that in the great space assigned to the Guarani nation, there were other tribes included within it, and surrounded by it on all sides. These were all very different from each other, as well as from the Guarani. The Guarani nation occupied this prodigious extent of country in separate hordes, without any political connexion, and without acknowledging the authority of any common chief. The destiny of this nation has been very different in different regions; all the hordes which inhabited the immense country possessed by the Portuguese were reduced to a state of slavery and sold; and as they were mixed with Negroes imported from Africa, it has come to pass that the Guarani nation has been in those countries almost annihilated. Very different has been the conduct of the Spaniards; they have either left the Guarani undisturbed in the enjoyment of liberty, or they have reduced them in their missions, which were principally inhabited by the Jesuists, on the Parana and Uruguay, between the twenty-seventh and thirtieth degrees of south latitude. At the suppression of the order in 1767 these laborious missionaries had converted 87,000 savages to the Christian faith, and had settled them as the peaceable inhabitants of thirty great villages in the dioceses of Buenos Ayres and Paraguay, to which two modern villages have been added. Hervas, from whom this account is extracted, says that the Guarani language is spoken in the

vast diocese of Paraguay, not only by the natives but by the Spaniards themselves. What is very remarkable, according to the same writer, although there is no communication between the savage hordes of Guarani, the same language is spoken among them all, with scarcely any difference of dialect. This remark applies to the Guarani of Paraguay and Los Chiquitos, and does not include those of the Brasils, and the tribes allied to this race, in the countries further to the north.

Paragraph 4.—Of the Western Tribes of Guarani.

The western Guarani are the tribes termed Guarayos, Chiriguanos, and Sirionos. The Guarayi were civilised by the Jesuists, and reduced under their celebrated missions of the Chiquitos. In the woods between the Chiquitos and the Moxos there are still some tribes of savage Guarayi. Under the same missions were also reduced some of the Chiriguanos, who inhabit the country between the Pilcomayo and Santa Cruz. Some of these people are within the limits of Peru and Tarija. Dobrizhoffer says that their language is a dialect of the Guarani very little corrupted, though according to some tradition they inhabited this country in the time of the Inca Yupanqui. The Pagan Chiriguanos are formidable to all their neighbours.

According to Abbate Gilii the Guarani language is spoken with purity by the natives of one hundred and sixty villages between the great river of Chaco and that of Mapayo of Santa Cruz, in the valleys of the Andes. To the northward of Santa Cruz are the barbarous Sirionos, who speak a dialect of the Chiriguanian and consequently of the Guaranian language.

M. d'Orbigny has given some further accounts of these tribes. The following table will give some idea of their numbers in comparison with the tribes of the same race in Paraguay.

	Christian.	*Savage.*	*Total.*
Guarani in the province of the Missions and De Corrientes..	40,355		40,355
Guarani of the province of Paraguay	26,715		26,715
Chiriguanos of Bolivia.....	3,966	15,000	18,966
Guarayos of Bolivia.....	1,000	100	1,100
Sirionos of Bolivia		1,000	1,000
Guarani of Brasil.....	150,000		150,000
	222,036	16,100	238,136

The Guarani were formerly very numerous in the country where the capital of Paraguay is now situated. They were there called Carios. It was from that country, according to historians cited by M. d'Orbigny, that this people made one of their last great migrations in 1541 to the plain of Chaco, and under the name of Chiriguanos settled themselves at the feet of the Bolivian Andes from the seventeenth to the nineteenth degree of south latitude. D'Orbigny says that they have in that country retained their primitive language. The same observation may be made of the Sirionos, who live between Santa Cruz de la Sierra and Moxos, and likewise of the tribe of Guarayos between Moxos and Chiquitos. In all these places the Guarani retain their old language and manners with little or no perceptible variation.*

Paragraph 5.—Physical Characters of the Guarani Race.

Azara has observed that the Guarani of Paraguay differ considerably in physical character from the various other races of that country. The difference, as he says, cannot be attributed altogether to their constant residence in the woods, for there are other tribes who likewise dwell in the forests. But this physical difference is rather in opposition to the pre-

* D'Orbigny, ii. p. 271.—In the second volume of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London the reader will find a long and detailed enumeration of the tribes belonging to each branch of the Guarani race.

valent idea that Paraguay was the original country of the Guarani race. Most of the tribes in Paraguay are tall and vigorous races, in stature and strength considerably exceeding the Spaniards. The Guarani are, on the contrary, shorter, as to their average height, by two inches than the Spaniards. "Ils ont aussi l'air d'être à proportion plus carrés, plus charnus, et plus laids. Les femmes ont beaucoup de gorge, les mains et le sein petits, et très peu de menstrues. Les hommes ont quelquefois un peu de barbe, et même de poil sur le corps, ce qui les distingue de tous les autres Indiens; mais ils n'approchent pas en cela des Européens." "Ils ressemblent aux autres Indiens pour les yeux, pour la vue, pour l'ouie, pour les dents, et pour la chevelure." "Leur figure est sombre, triste, et abattue; ils parlent peu et toujours bas, sans crier ni se plaindre; jamais ils ne rient aux eclâts; l'on ne voit jamais sur leur figure l'expression d'aucune passion."

Section III.—*Tribes of People spread over the Eastern Region of South America unconnected with the Tupian Family.*

A great number of tribes are spread through various parts of the Brasilian countries and through the whole region extending from the river Plata northwards to the Maragnon, and westward almost as far as the sources of that river, who are supposed to be unconnected with the race of the Tupi and Guarani. The idioms of these nations are, as far as it is known, quite distinct from the Guarani language: they differ in manners from the Guarani and Tupi, and are for the most part much less docile and disposed to receive civilisation. It does not appear from the descriptions given by travellers that they are very different from the Guarani in complexion or physical character in general. M. d'Orbigny includes them all in the same set of nations with the Guarani, his classification being founded wholly on physical resemblance. Several tribes are, however, said to be greater in stature than the Guarani, and it is probable that they all have some distinctive

characteristics. The general opinion of writers who have described these nations is, that they are the aborigines of the countries which they inhabit, and that the Guarani have spread themselves by gradual encroachments among them.

Hervas and De Laet have given an enumeration of these tribes as far as they could learn their names from the information supplied by missionaries. A more numerous list of names has been furnished by Dr. Martius, together with short notices of the history and situation of particular tribes, in the work published by that writer on the "State of Natural and Civil Rights among the Aborigines of Brasil." This list has been translated by the Rev. Mr. Renouard, and published in the second volume of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. It contains not less than two hundred and forty names, which are given as the national appellatives of so many distinct races, collected partly from Brasilian manuscripts.*

The various nations of the Brasilian countries, whose languages have never been adequately investigated and compared but are generally regarded as distinct from each other, bear a resemblance in physical characters to the Guarani. They are supposed by M. d'Orbigny to belong to the same race or family of nations. This opinion is founded on the various portraits furnished by the works of MM. Spix and Martius, Prince Maximilian of Neuwied, and MM. Rugendas and Débret, of the Bogres of the province of San Paolo, the Cumacans, the Puris, the Coroados, and the Coropos. The same observation applies also to a variety of tribes less known and of whom we have but imperfect descriptions, such as the Macuani, the Penhams of Minos Gevaes, the Machacali, the Capoxos, the Cataxos, the Comanaxos of the Porto Seguro and of Bahia, the Carivi, the Tabucas, the Murus, the Mundrucus. All these tribes and many others described by the travellers above mentioned resemble in the general type of organisation the Tupian or Guaranian races.

* It must be observed that many of the tribes whose names are set down in this enumeration belong to the third division of South American nations, which comprehends the Mediterranean or Midland tribes.

The first subdivision of these nations of the Brasilian countries are the tribes between Rio de Janeiro and Bahia.

1. The Aimorés or Guaymarés. The word Guaï means "river" in the Guarani language, and is probably one of the etymons in many of these names. They are termed by the Portuguese Botocudos. They call themselves "Engcraecknung." They inhabit at present the Serra dos Aïmores and eastward between the rivers Pardo and Doce from the eighteenth to the twentieth degree of south latitude. One of their families are the Gherens, remaining near the river Itahype. The Kinimures, driven by the Tupi from Bahia, were probably of this tribe.

The complexion of the Botocudos, according to M d'Orbigny, is very similar to that of the Guarani, but somewhat lighter, the result, as he supposes, of their inhabiting shady forests: it approaches to the colour of the Guarayos. A native Botocudo described by this traveller resembled the Guarani in stature, form, and proportions, and likewise in features, with this exception, that the cheek-bones were a little more prominent, the nose somewhat shorter, the mouth larger, the countenance more savage, the beard still less, and the eyes smaller and more oblique at the outer angle, which produced a greater resemblance to the Mongole. The Botocudos are likewise of a yellower colour than the Guarani and other nations of South America.

The Botocudos are said to have been cannibals and the most savage of all the American nations. They wore for ornaments collars or strings of human teeth. Of late some attempts have been made to introduce among them civilisation and Christianity. The following account of these efforts is to be found in the papers of the Society for the Protection of Aborigines.

"In contrast with these violations of human right perpetrated upon the confines of the Brasilian empire upon the aborigines of Guiana, it is gratifying to be able to report the encouraging change which has taken place nearer to the seat of the imperial government and under the auspices of the young emperor.

"The Botocudo Indians, who inhabit the country watered

by the Rio Doce and its tributaries have been described as among the lowest of the human race on the continent of South America. Wandering, savage, and all but naked, they rendered their repulsive countenances more ugly by the insertion of billets of wood in their perforated lips and ears, and cannibalism is said to have been practised among them. By the exertions of Guido Marliere, to whom communications were made on the part of this Society almost at the commencement, Guido Pocrane, a Botocudo Indian of great native talent, was introduced to the blessings of civilisation and Christianity, and his new acquirements were directed to the amelioration of his countrymen. His exertions have been crowned with signal success, and four sections of the barbarous tribes have been brought under the influence of civilisation and taught to cultivate their soil, from which they have raised not only enough for their own support, but a surplus, which has been the means of rescuing even a portion of the white Brasilians from famine and starvation. Useful laws have been introduced among them, and Guido Pocrane, in the criminal code which he has established, has set an example which legislators, the hereditary professors of Christianity, would do well to imitate, in the total exclusion of capital punishment."

2. The Goïtacas, of whom three tribes are known. They are mostly civilised and settled between the rivers Macabé and Cabapuana. Others, still independent, rove about in the woods near Rio Xipoto. These are the people termed Coroados, or "Tonsured," by the Portuguese. They are described, and a portrait of one of them is given, in the travels of Spix and Martius.

In the same country the tribe of Coropos is also found.

3. The Puris, on the river Paraiba, are also described and figured by the same writers: they appear to be a people of very fair complexion, and with broad and flat faces.

Seventeen other tribes are mentioned among the inhabitants of the same countries, whose names and abodes are alone remarkable. Some of them are civilised; others remain wild and independent.

The second and third subdivisions of this class of nations

in the enumeration of Dr. Martius consist principally of tribes who will be described in a following chapter as belonging to the third section or Midland Nations of South America. The following are to be excepted.

The Guatos are reckoned by M. d'Orbigny among the Guarani tribes, but there seems to be no reason for concluding them to be of that race, except merely their physical characters. They are a people of very fair complexion. Their numbers are very considerable. They inhabit the country near the sources of the Tacoary and the Araguaya to the northward of Camapuaõ.

The Parecis were a peaceable and industrious people: they have been almost exterminated by the Portuguese. They inhabited the western side of the Campos dos Parecis and the declivity towards Guaporé of the table-land of Mato-Grosso, which is the great high-land that separates the northern from the southern rivers of South America.

Besides the Parecis thirty-one other tribes are enumerated in the countries in the eastern and western side of the same plateau. Their names, which it would be useless to copy, may be seen in the memoir of Dr. Martius.*

The fourth subdivision of Brasilian tribes distinct from the Tupi are aboriginal hordes of the great province of Goyas situated between the long rivers of Araguaya and Tocantins. There are seventeen nations in this subdivision. The Goyas who gave name to the province are extinct. The Ges and the Crans or Timbiras are the most considerable nations of this groupe.

The fifth subdivision contains tribes who inhabit Piauhy, Maranhõ, and the interior of Bahia, towards the extreme eastern part of the Brasilian territory. There are sixteen tribes of this groupe. They are mostly settled in villages under the Portuguese government.

The sixth subdivision contains tribes inhabiting the province of Para along the River of Amazons and its confluents.

Forty-six tribes are enumerated in this subdivision. The tribes among them that are tolerably well known are those of the Tapajos, who give name to the river called after them,

* Journal of the Royal Geogr. Soc. loc. cit.

the Mundrucus, the Muras, the Cariguanos, or Cari men, (Caraibs?), the Arwakis (Arawaks?), the Caripunas or Caripuras (Caraibs?)

The seventh subdivision comprehends ninety different tribes inhabiting the province of the Rio Negro. The only people among them whose name is at all conspicuous are the Purúpurús or Piebald-men and the Yurés, a nation still considerable in numbers on the Yupura.

Section IV.—*Native Races of the Terra Firma of South America, or the Northern Division of that Continent.*

The region of South America termed the Terra Firma is the northern tract of that continent facing the Gulf of Mexico. It reaches from the mouth of the River Orinoco to the great angle of the gulf, where the Atlantic approaches the feet of the Cordillera near the Isthmus of Darien. To the southward or towards the interior it may be considered as extending as far as the higher lands which separate the basin of the Maragnon from that of the Orinoco.

In the Brasilian countries and in Paraguay we have observed the existence of one race of people scattered over the whole extent of those vast regions, while in other parts of the same countries many nations of different lineage are interspersed among the separated branches of that stock. We shall have to make a similar remark in the countries which we are about to survey. Here the Caribean or Caraibe race takes the place of the Guarani, and is in like manner spread, while there are scattered through the same countries tribes of a different origin.

The names of these tribes were first made known by the Abbate Don Filippo Gilii, who resided long as a missionary among the nations of the Orinoco, and after the expulsion of the Jesuits retired to Rome, where he wrote a history of the countries which had been the scene of his labours. In a subsequent correspondence with the great philologist Hervas, Abbé Gilii confirmed and particularised his statements. Hervas, from the information furnished by Gilii, has given the

following list of dialects related to the Caraibean language, which, as he says, are spoken on the Orinoco and its contributary streams.

Tribes of the Caraibe Race.

1. Akerecoto.
2. Akiricoto.
3. Areveriano.
4. Arinacoto.
5. Avaricoto.
6. Cumanacoto.
7. Guakirie.
8. Guaikirie.
9. Guanero.
10. Kirikiripo.
11. Macuroto.
12. Makiritari.
13. Mapoye.
14. Nation of Women.
15. Oyé.
16. Palenke.
17. Pareko.
18. Pariacoto.
19. Paudocoto.
20. Payure.
21. Tamanaco.
22. Uara-makuru.
23. Uaraka-pachili.
24. Uarinacoto.
25. Uokeari.

All these languages, says the Abbé Gilii, are Caraibean dialects. Other dialects differing but little from them are spoken along the coast of Paria in the neighbourhood of the Caraccas. A Caraibean dialect is spoken, as Hervas declares, by the nation of Aruaks or Arawaks, which is very numerous and inhabits the coast beyond, that is, to the eastward of the mouth of the Orinoco, and even beyond the Surinam. The Guaimie and the Darien or Dariel, which is spoken near the isthmus of that name, is supposed also by Hervas to be a dialect of the widely spread Caraibean language, which was the idiom of the Antilles as well as of all the coast from the straits of Panama to the Orinoco.

It seems to have been a discovery of later times that the Chaymas, an inland people, belong to the same stock, or at least speak a cognate idiom.

Tribes not of the Caraibe Race.

Besides the Caraibean dialects a great number of different languages are enumerated by Gilii and Hervas as spoken in the same regions. The most remarkable of these distinct languages or families of languages are the following.

1. The Salivian idiom, said to be a mother tongue and to have several dialects.

2. The Maipuri, of which a great number of dialects were spoken by nations on the Orinoco, the Rio Negro, and the Maragnon. The Maipuri people themselves were converted to the Christian religion by the Abbé Gilii. The old Aturians in the island of the river Padamo spoke a Maipurian dialect.

3. The Guaraüna is said to be a distinct language on the Orinoco spoken through an extent of seventy-five leagues.

4. The Yarura was another mother-tongue spoken by a considerable nation.

Lastly, in the kingdom of New Granada was prevalent the celebrated Muisca or Muizca, now almost extinct. The country of the Muisca nation was the famous Condinamarca. In New Granada there were also many other languages, particularly the Kiminzake, spoken extensively in many different dialects. Gilii says that some books existed in the Muisca language composed by the Jesuits.*

Paragraph 2.—Further Account of Nations allied to the Caraibs or Caribbees, by the French called Galibi.

The travels of Baron Alexander von Humboldt in South America have opened the sources of more accurate and extensive information respecting the native races of the northern region of that peninsula. Humboldt himself added some further notices, particularly in relation to the Chaymas, a race unknown to Vater, whose language he has compared and proved to be of the same origin with that of the Tamanacs.

The principal nations according to him are the following.

1. The Caraibs or Carives, who call themselves, as Humboldt informs us, Carina, Calina, and Calinago, were found in the sixteenth century spread over all the shores and islands of South America, from the mouth of the River of Amazons to the Orinoco and the neighbourhood of Porto Rico, as well as the great part of the islands called Antilles. 2. The Ta-

* Storia del Orinoco, tom. iii. Hervas, Catal. d. Ling. 53.

manacs inhabit the right bank of the Orinoco to the south-east of the mission of Encamarada, more than a hundred leagues distant from the country of the Chaymas. Formerly powerful, but now much reduced, the Tamanacs are separated from the mountains of Caripe by the Orinoco and the vast steppes of Caraccas and of Cumana, and, what is a barrier more difficult to surmount, by tribes of the Caraibean nation.* 3. The Chaymas are spread along the elevated mountains of the Cocollar and the Guacharo, the banks of the Guarapiche, of the Rio Colorado, of the Areo, and of the Cano of Caripe. They are bounded by the Cumanagotos to the west, the Guaraúnas to the east, and the Caraibes to the south. 4. The Guaraúnas live in the low islands in the Delta of the Orinoco, where they build their houses in trees to avoid the inundations of the river. 5. The Cumanagotos live to the west of Cumana, in the mission of Piritoö. 6. The Pariagotos are the inhabitants of the peninsula of Para. 7. The Guaikerias inhabit the island of Margaretta and the peninsula of Araya.

Father Gilii, as we have seen, set down the Tamanac unhesitatingly as a dialect of the Caraibean language. Through the medium of the Tamanac he was able to converse with all the tribes of people on the lower Orinoco. Professor Vater, however, who carefully examined the grammatical structure of these languages, found it so different, notwithstanding the resemblance of pronouns of the second and third person and some pronominal adjectives and the testimony of Gilii as to the great resemblance in words between them, that he considered the question of their original identity or diversity as undetermined. Humboldt has carefully compared the grammatical structure of the Chayma language, which was unknown to Gilii and Hervas, with the Tamanac, and he has proved the identity of the two languages in all essential characteristics. Between these two branches, the Tamanac and the Caraibe, it is probable, as Vater observes, that all the idioms of these nations may be distributed. To the Tamanac belong, besides the Chayma, the idiom of the Parechi, of the Uocheari, the Uarana-paccili, the Uara-Macuru, the Acherecotti, the Oji.

* Humboldt, Personal Narrative.

More remote is the idiom of the Ayaraçotti, though still intelligible through the medium of the Tamanac. Gilii says further that the Chirichiripi, who live on the eastern side of the Orinoco, speak like the Tamanacs, and he asserts the same thing of the Sole Donne or Amazons on the Caccivero.*

It is a very remarkable fact that the Tamanacs should be found cognate with the Chaymas at so vast a distance, and separated from them by Caraibean nations. The Caraibes must either be a kindred branch, though a more remote one, of the same stock, who gained more recently possession of the intermediate region, or a people of entirely distinct origin. On that supposition it is extremely difficult to account for the resemblance of their language to the Tamanac. They differ physically from the people who speak that tongue, and no indication has been observed of intermixture that can explain the phenomenon.

Paragraph 3.—Tribes in British Guiana.

We have a very good account of the tribes belonging to this groupe of nations within the limits of British Guiana, written by Mr. Hillhouse, a British surveyor at Demerara, and published in the second volume of the Geographical Journal. It adds something to the previous knowledge of the history of these races. It contains the following enumeration of tribes.

1. Arawaak.
2. Accaway.
3. Carabisce.
4. Warow.
5. Macusi.
6. Paramani.
7. Attaraya.
8. Attamacka.

The Accaways, according to this writer, are but a kindred tribe with the Caraibes, or, as he chooses to term them, Carabisce. The Caraibes call the Accaways a brother nation, and their language is Caribean. Of the other tribes I shall presently add some brief notices. Their language is nearly the same as the Caraibe.

* Mithridat. Th. 3; 2 Abtheil.—Compare Hervas, Catalog. delle Lingue, and Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. ii.

The Arawaks inhabit forests from the eastern side of the Orinoco and in Surinam. Much information is to be found respecting the habits of this race in the memoir of the Rev. C. Quandt, a missionary of the United Brethren, who resided among them. Gilii and Hervas agree in the assertion that their language is a dialect of the Caraibean. Vater, who has carefully analysed the specimens of the Arawak language in his possession, says that it has a certain relation to the Caraibean idiom, but a nearer one to the Tamanac. In the short vocabulary given by Hillhouse there is no resemblance, but this is not a sufficient ground for any conclusion.

The Accaways occupy the country between the rapids and the high mountains of the interior. They are not superior in stature to the Arawaks; their colour is a deeper red, and they are more resolute and determined. They are said by Mr. Hillhouse to be quarrelsome and warlike, and dreaded by the other tribes.

The Warows are a small tribe inhabiting the Pomeroon coast: they are a nation of boat-builders.

The Macusi are a tribe little known, as Mr. Hillhouse observes. Their habits and character have been studied by Sir Robert Schomburgk, who became well acquainted with them, and brought with him from South America an individual of the tribe. We may expect some further information as to the history and habits of these people from this accomplished traveller.

The Paramani, Attaraya, and Attamacka are tribes of predatory mountaineers.

After these brief notices of the inferior tribes I shall proceed to describe the physical and moral traits of the more numerous and considerable nations. This subject is the more interesting as it appears that remarkable physical diversities exist between the different tribes, though they all belong to one family.

The Caraibes of British Guiana have been described by Mr. Hillhouse, who terms them Carabisce. He says:—"The Carabisce occupy the upper parts of the rivers Essequebo and Coioony, being at the extreme verge of the colony, whither they retreated on the first settlement of the Dutch on the Essequebo.

"The Carabisce are the most brave, credulous, simple, obstinate, and open to the resentments, of all the Indian nations. Their opinion once formed is never modified by circumstances, and that kind of prudence denominated policy is unknown to them. They are in consequence rapidly decreasing, and though about twenty years ago they could muster nearly a thousand fighting men, at this moment it would be difficult to collect fifty in the whole country below the falls.

"The Carabisce have some slight tradition of their having once occupied the Caraibean islands. There are many local names of rivers, islands, and headlands in Trinidad and in the Leeward Islands which decidedly belong to the language of the continental Carabisce." *

The Arawaaks are seldom more than five feet four inches in height. They are stout and plump in proportion, but not muscular. Their necks are short, and the necks, hands, and feet, particularly those of the women, are remarkably small. The eye slopes towards the temples, and the forehead is uniformly lower than that of Europeans.

Some of the castes are almost as fair as the Spaniards or Italians. Those who live near the coast are of a very dark brown, sometimes as dark as what is termed a yellow Negro; but the straight, strong, black hair, small features, and well-proportioned limbs are peculiarities that never allow these Indians to be taken for Africans.

These people are considered by some writers deficient in personal courage. Being of small stature, and possessing but little muscular strength, they are unable to cope with Europeans or even with Negroes, but in wars among themselves they display a fierce determination, and their revenge of injuries is implacable.

The Chaymas.—The Chaymas were first described by Humboldt, who established their near kindred to the Tamanacs by an analysis of the structure of both languages. He has given the following description of the Chaymas.

"The countenance of the Chaymas, without being hard and stern, has something sedate and gloomy; the forehead is

* Journal of the Geogr. Soc. of London, vol. ii. p. 237.

small and but little prominent. Thus in several languages of these countries, to express the beauty of a woman, they say that she is fat and has a narrow forehead. The eyes of the Chaymas are black, sunk, and very long; but they are neither so obliquely placed nor so small as in the people of the Mongul race. The corner of the eye is, however, sensibly raised up towards the temples; the eyebrows are black or dark brown, slender, and little arched; the eyelids are furnished with very long eyelashes, and the habit of casting them down as if they were lowered by lassitude softens the looks of the women, and makes the eye thus veiled appear less than it really is. If the Chaymas and in general all the nations of South America and New Spain resemble the Mongul race by the form of the eye, their high cheek-bones, their straight and flat hair, and the almost entire want of beard, they essentially differ from them in the form of the nose, which is pretty long, prominent throughout its whole length, and thick towards the nostrils, the openings of which are directed downwards, as with all the nations of the Caucasian race. Their wide mouth, with lips but little prominent though broad, has often an expression of good-nature. The passage from the nose to the mouth is marked in both sexes by two furrows, which are diverging from the nostrils towards the corners of the mouth. The chin is extremely short and round, and the jaws are remarkable for their strength and width."

"The Chaymas have fine white teeth like all people who lead a very simple life; they are, however, not so strong as those of the Negroes."

Their figure and stature differ from those of the Caraibes. "The Chaymas," says the same writer, "are in general short, and they appear so particularly when compared, I shall not say with their neighbours the Caraibes or Poyagues, but with the ordinary natives of America. The common stature of a Chayma is nearly five feet two inches; their body is thick-set, shoulders extremely broad, and breasts flat. All their limbs are round and fleshy. The Chaymas, like almost all the native tribes I have seen, have small slender hands; their feet are large, and their toes retain an extraordinary mobility. All the Chaymas have a family look, and their

analogy of form so often observed by travellers is so much the more striking, as between the age of twenty and fifty difference of age is no way denoted by wrinkles of the skin, the colour of the hair, or decrepitude of the body. On entering a hut, it is often difficult among adult persons to distinguish the father from the son, and not to confound one generation with another."

We are informed by the same author that the complexion of the Chaymas is the same as that of the other American tribes who are nearly in the same latitude. This colour prevails, according to Von Humboldt, from the cold table-lands of Quito and New Grenada to the burning plains of the Amazons. "It is not a copper colour. The denomination of *rouge-cuivrés* or copper-coloured could never have originated in equinoctial America in the description of the native inhabitants." The colour of the Chaymas and other tribes of this region is a *dark brown inclining towards tawny*. The eyes are black, the eyebrows black or of a dark brown.

Such is the general hue, but we learn from the same writer that it is not universal. Some deviations occur, and a lighter colour displays itself. He says that at Esmeralda, near the sources of the River Orinoco, consequently in a very elevated region, M. Bonpland and himself saw Indians of a less tawny colour, but still with black hair. He remarks also that the old accounts of the earliest voyagers to those regions represent some of the natives, as those of Paria, to be of a much fairer colour than that now prevalent among the generality of the inhabitants. The climate of Paria, as we learn from him, is remarkable for the great coolness of the mornings. The inhabitants of Paria, according to Ferdinand Columbus, were better made, more civilised, and whiter than the people whom the discoverer of America had till then seen. But many other writers are more particular in their account. Von Humboldt has collected the passages from these authors, although he doubts their accuracy. They have, however, in favour of their truth the advantage of numbers with the common marks of correctness and uniform testimony, and a minute and circumstantial statement. If we may believe these writers, the old inhabitants of Paria were clothed,

though the races now existing on the coast are naked; they were nearly white when not exposed to the sun's rays, and had long flowing hair of a yellow or auburn colour.

It seems to be the opinion of Baron von Humboldt that all these nations, whose languages, as we have seen, have some connection between them, are in reality of one race.

"The Caribbees properly speaking, viz. those who inhabit the Missions of the Cari in the *llanos* of Cumana, the banks of the Cauca, and the plains to the north-east of the sources of the Orinoco, are distinguished by their almost gigantic size from all the other nations I have seen in the New Continent. Must it on this account be admitted that the Caribbees are an entirely distinct race, and that the Guaraons and the Tamanacs, whose languages have an affinity with the Caribbean, have no bond of relationship with them? I think not. Among nations of the same family one branch may acquire an extraordinary developement of organization. The mountaineers of the Tyrol and of the Salzburg are taller than the other Germanic races; the Samoyedes of the Altai are not so little and squat as those of the sea-coast. In the same manner it would be difficult to deny that the Galibis are real Caribbees, and yet, notwithstanding the *identity* of their languages, what a striking difference in their stature and physical constitution!" *

Paragraph 4.—Conjectures on the Origin and History of the Caraibes.

Professor Vater has collected various passages from Peter Martyr and other old writers, by which we learn that a notion formerly prevailed, deriving the Caraibes from the extreme point of North America.† In the relation of a traveller, Alfonso Fogheda, in North America, it is reported that he came, in the province of Uraba, to a place termed Caribana,

* Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. iii. p. 286, English translation.
† Mithridates, Th. 3. S. 679 u. s. w.

the name of which was connected with that of the insular Caraibes; and Rochefort, in the history of the Antilles, mentions a tradition, derived in part from oral communications of the Apalachians in Florida, and partly from the Caraibes of the islands, according to which this race formerly inhabited countries in the neighbourhood of the Apalachians, where a great part of the nation, then termed Kofachi, adopted the customs and were received into the nation of the Apalachi, but still maintained the designation of Caraibes, which means "a foreign and valiant people." A division of this race which was the least numerous, still prizing more highly independence and their national customs, betook themselves to the eastern coast and passed over to the Lucayan or Bahaman islands: there they obtained aid from the native inhabitants and passed over into the then uninhabited island of St. Croix, and subsequently to Trinidad, and to the shores of the South American continent.

This must be allowed to be a very uncertain tradition, and one on which no reliance can be placed. The Apalachian language is almost entirely lost, so that no opportunity remains for inquiry as to its agreement or disagreement with the Caraibean. It is, however, a curious fact that some Caraibean words are similar to words in the languages of North America spoken in countries not very remote from Florida. Vater has instituted this comparison and has collected the following examples.

1. *Poppe,* in the language of the Woccons of Florida means 'head.'
   Boupou in the Caraibe.
   Boppe, Yaoi, a Caraibean dialect in Guiana.
2. *Caïcouchi,* in Caraibe 'dog.'
   Cocotschi in the Tarahumara.
3. *Courame,* in the Caraibe of the continent 'good.'
   Couve in the Yaoi.
   Ouvet in the Sankihani.

A few analogies of this description afford nothing like proof, but the tradition as to the origin of the Caraibes is remarkable, and it would be worth while for those who have opportunities

of investigating the subject to inquire what analogies may exist between the Caraibean language and the dialects of North America, as this seems to be the only instance of historical or even traditional connection between the inhabitants of the two American continents. Vater has given an elaborate analysis of the grammatical forms of the Caraibe compared with some of the cognate languages in Terra Firma.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MIDLAND RACES OF SOUTH AMERICA.

SECTION I.—*General Survey.*

UNDER the term above written I include all those South-American races who inhabit the central or most inland portion of the continent, namely, the regions lying between the eastern feet of the Cordillera and the nations of Brasil and Paraguay above described. These Midland nations have physical peculiarities which distinguish them both from the Andian races and from those of the eastern department; but these characters do not appear to be so strongly marked as to indicate a near family relation between all the tribes in whom they are displayed, while all other tokens of near consanguinity are wanting. Nor does it appear to me that there is anything as yet known that justifies our associating, as M. d'Orbigny has done, the Midland races of South America with the nomadic people of the Pampas, or assuming that they are especially related to any of the groupes of nations already surveyed.

The Midland nations divide themselves obviously into two departments: these are, first, the southern division, consisting of tribes who inhabit the countries on the lower Paraguay and the great southern plain of Chaco: many of these border on the regions occupied by the Guarani and other nations of the eastern department, and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to draw a definite boundary-line between them. We must rely on physical differences for the distinction between them. The second division of the Midland nations are the northern, comprehending the tribes of

people long subjected to the missions of the Chiquitos and the Moxos.

These nations inhabiting the interior of South America are said to differ in complexion from those both of the eastern and the western divisions of the same continent. They have neither the red coppery colour of the Andian races, nor the yellow or pale tint of the Brasilian and other eastern tribes. The Charrua, who belong to this division, were in colour like Mulattos or some Negroes. M. d'Orbigny describes the complexion of this whole class of nations as—"brun olivâtre"—a brown olive colour. This is somewhat modified in the different tribes. The colour of the tribes of Chaco is darker, according to M. d'Orbigny, than that of any other South American nation whom he has seen. He says their complexion partakes not in the slightest degree of the red or coppery tint ascribed to the American nations in general. "It is of the colour of sepia or olive-brown." The Charruas are said to be the darkest, and have a complexion described as "un peu marron." The colour of the tribes forming the second subdivision of this class, namely, the Chiquitos, is the same as that of the Charruas, but rather lighter, viz. "bronzée, ou pour mieux dire, d'un brun pâle, melangé d'olivâtre, et non de rouge ou de jaune"—bronze or light brown mixed with olive.

The stature of these nations is generally tall. The nomadic tribes of Chaco are as tall and robust in form as the Patagonians: the tribes of the hilly and forest countries of Chiquitos are somewhat shorter. Stature seems to constitute a marked difference between the herculean nations of Chaco and the short and diminutive forms of the Guarani and other Brasilian races, as likewise of the Peruvian or Andian nations.

The features of these nations are also peculiar. In general the face is broad and flat, the forehead arched and not retreating, the eyes horizontally placed and not obliquely turned up at the outer corner like those of the Brasilian and Caraibean nations, who in this respect resemble the Tartars. Some nations have projecting cheek-bones. The nose is generally short and flat, the nostrils expanded; but this is not without exception, for some of the tribes of Chaco have aquiline

noses. Their mouths are large. Their hair is long and lank; their beards are scanty and only growing at all on the upper lip and chin. The aspect of the countenance is cold, reserved, and even in some tribes ferocious. The Chiquitos are an exception to this remark; they have a cheerful and lively expression.

These characters are, perhaps, sufficient to constitute a particular type; the only question that arises is as to their general applicability.

The geographical extent of the country inhabited by these Mediterranean nations is, as I have observed, not defined by very prominent natural boundaries. It may be described as the vast basin of all the tributary rivers which uniting form the broad channel of the Rio de la Plata, with the addition of a wide country reaching towards the north-west behind the Cordillera of Southern Peru. The great estuary of La Plata receives the confluence of waters poured into it by several of the largest and longest rivers of America and of the world. Two of these, the Paraguay and the Parana, have their sources near the fifteenth degree of south latitude, from the southern side of the highest Brasilian mountains and the central plateau of the Mata Grosso, and flow southwards with a slight inclination towards the west: they unite, and the common channel makes, about the thirty-fourth degree, a sudden turn towards the east, and receives afterwards the waters of the Uruguay. The region of vast plains which lies to the westward of the higher Paraguay is intersected by several rivers, which descend from the eastern feet of the Cordillera and fall into the channel of that great stream. These are the Pilcomayo and the Vermejo and the Salado. The region which these rivers intersect is the great plain of Chaco. To the northward of Chaco is the country of the Chiquitos, of considerable elevation, separated by numerous streams and small chains of hills, and partly covered by forests, which present obstacles to migration and separate numerous petty tribes. The Moxos towards the north-east of the Chiquitos inhabit a country subject to inundations, where stagnant waters cover during the rainy season of the year a great portion of the soil. The Moxian territory,

according to M. d'Orbigny, who gives an account of its tribes from personal observation, is only fitted for a people accustomed to navigation and of almost amphibious habits. Hence a marked difference in manners between these people and their neighbours.

Section II.—*Tribes of Chaco.*

Chaco and its inhabitants have been described in the celebrated work of Dobrizhofer, who made a long abode in South America. This region of wide plains is looked upon by the Spaniards as the theatre of their misery and destruction, and by the native savage tribes as their paradise or elysium. "Several tribes," says this writer, "formerly dwelt in Chaco, of which the names alone or very slender relics now exist. Of this number were the Calchaquis, formerly very numerous, famous for military ferocity. At present a few survive in a corner of a territory of Santa Fé, the rest having long since fallen victims to war or to the small-pox. Nearly the same fate has swept away the equestrian tribes of the Malbalaes, Mataras, Palomos, Mogosnas, Orejones, Aquilotes, Churumates, Ojotades, Tanos, Quamalcas, &c. The equestrian nations still subsisting in Chaco are the Abipones, Natekebits, Tobas, Amokebits, Mocobios, Yapetalacas, and Oekakakalots, Guaycurus or Lenguas. The Mbayas, dwelling on the eastern shore of the Paraguay, call themselves Epiguayegis; those on the western Quetiadegodis. The pedestrian tribes are the Lules and the Ysistines, who speak the same language, viz. the Tonocote, and have been for the most part converted by us and settled in towns; the Homoampas, Vilelas, Chunipies, Yooles, Ocoles, and Pazaines, who are in great part Christians; the Mataguayos, whom we have so often attempted to civilise, and who have always proved indocile; the Payaguas, the Guanas, and the Chiquitos. Other tribes, speaking various languages, in the woods, have been added by our order to the colonies of the Chiquitos, as the Zamucos, Caypotades, Ygaronos."

It is impossible to determine how many of these nations

form entirely different races, and how many are allied to each other. Most of them are supposed to have languages entirely peculiar; but Dobrizhofer informs us that the idioms of the Abipones, Mocobios, and Tobas certainly have one origin, and are as much alike as the Spanish and Portuguese. This observation is confirmed by Hervas, who adds that the dialect of the celebrated Mbayas resembles the Toba in its vocabulary though not in grammatical forms. Professor Vater, who has collected and condensed the accounts given by Hervas, enumerates twenty-one different nations in this region of South America.

Paragraph 2.—Particular Tribes of Chaco. The Mbocobis and Tobas.

The kindred nations of Tobas and Mbocobis occupy the greater part of Chaco from the twenty-first to the thirty-second degree of south latitude. They inhabit the banks of the Pilcomayo, a part of the course of the Vermejo, and the high plains about Sante Fé elevated above the morasses of the Parana. To the east they border on the Abipones, and to the west on the Araucanos of Chili. They are warlike tribes of nomadic herdsmen, devoting a part of their time to the chase, but seldom cultivating the soil. M. d'Orbigny says their complexion is of the colour of bronze or olive-brown. They resemble the Charruas, but are of a somewhat lighter hue. Felix de Azara says that in beauty and elegance of form and strength of body they are very superior to Europeans. " Ils ressemblent aux Guanas et aux autres Indiens dans toutes les choses dont j'ai parlé ci-dessus. Ils parlent d'avantage entr'eux, et ont le regard plus ouvert. Les hommes portent le même barbote; et tous arrachent constamment les sourcils, les cils, et le poil. Ils disent qu'ils ne sont pas des chevaux pour avoir du poil. Leurs habillements, leur fêtes, leur ivrognerie, leur parure, leurs peintures, &c. ressemblent entièrement à celles des Guanas et des Payaguas. Ils se rasent entièrement la tête."

He had before described the Guanas and other tribes as

similar in complexion to the Guarani, and as resembling the other Indians in their features, their hair, in acuteness of sense, defect of hair and beard, smallness of extremities, and other particulars.

Paragraph 3.—The Abipones.

The celebrated nation of the Abipones are said to be the most warlike equestrian people of South America. They were first described by Father Lozano in his work entitled 'Historia del Gran Chaco.' They resemble the Tobas in physical characters, and it is not improbable that they may be discovered hereafter to be allied to that people in descent. Dobrizhofer and Azara describe them particularly. "The Abipones are well-formed and have handsome faces, much like those of Europeans except in colour. I observed that almost all of them had black but rather small eyes, yet they see more acutely with them than we do with our larger ones. The common shape of their noses is aquiline; they are a very handsome people, have seldom or never any bodily defects. Almost all the Abipones are so tall that they might be enlisted among the Austrian musketeers. They are destitute of beard, and have perfectly smooth chins, like all the other Indians. If you see an Indian with a little beard, you may conclude without hesitation that one of his parents or more remote ancestors was an European." The same writer afterwards adds that they have a few straggling hairs or down on their chins, which are plucked out by the women, who act as barbers. All the Abipones have thick raven-black locks. As to colour, he says that some of the native Americans whom he has seen are as fair as the Germans or English, but many of them are fairer than many Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians. "They have whitish faces, but this whiteness in some nations approaches more to a pasty colour; in some it is darker, a difference occasioned by diversity of climate, manner of living, or food. The women are fairer than the men because they go out less frequently."

Paragraph 4.—The Mataguayos.

The Mataguayos are another race of the plains of Chaco, divided into different bands. These are, 1. The Mataguayos proper, between the Pilcomayo and the Vermejo; a part of these are the people termed Chanès, supposed by Azara to be the same tribe that is also termed Guanas, another Vilelas, and a third Yoes. 2. The Matacos, including the tribes Begosos, Chunipis, and Oeolis. These tribes are described by the missionaries Lozano and Charlevoix, and by the traveller Don Felix de Azara.

The Mataguayos occupy a considerable part of Chaco towards the eastern declivity of the Andes, to the southward of the Pilcomayo. The people of this race, like the Tobas, are fond of resorting to the banks of great rivers which favour their habits of life. They fix their dwellings on hillocks elevated a little above the neighbouring plains, which in the rainy season are inundated: on these they live in villages, which they only leave occasionally for the chase or in warlike engagements against some of the tribes of Chaco.

Their colour, which is that of the sepia of a dark shade, is exactly similar to the hue of the Tobas and Mbocobis; and in stature and other physical characters there is little difference between these nations.*

Paragraph 5.—The Lenguas.

The Lenguas inhabit the middle part of Chaco. They do not differ materially from the Mbocobi either in physical or moral characters.

Paragraph 6.—The Payaguas.

The Payaguas perhaps give name to the river Paraguay,

* D'Orbigny, vol. ii. p. 168.

of which they occupied the banks as far as its junction with the Parana, and possessed the navigation. They resemble the Tobas.

Paragraph 7.—The Charruas.

Immediately to the northward of the Rio de la Plata, between the rivers Paraguay and Uruguay and the western ocean, there are several tribes of savages who have a strong mutual resemblance, and differ in many respects from the other nations of South America. The Charruas are the principal of these.

This nation at the era of the Spanish conquest wandered on the shores of the Plata and Uruguay, and reached about thirty leagues to the northward. On the northern side the Charruas were separated by deserts from the nearest hamlets of the Guarani.

The Charruas were a very warlike race, and firmly resisted the first colonists who settled at Monte Video. Azara says that though they have never been in great numbers, they have cost the Spaniards more blood than all the armies of Montezuma and the Incas. They are in many respects a very peculiar people, both in moral and physical characters. This race has not the complexion which has by many been supposed universal among the native tribes of America. They cannot be deemed a copper-coloured people, but are rather to be reckoned among the black varieties of mankind, or among the races whose colour approaches to black with scarcely any mixture of the red tinge. In many other respects they have the characters which are common to the nations of America in a greater degree than usual, being apparently among the most ancient and least improved inhabitants of that continent. "Their middle stature is higher than that of the Spaniards by about an inch. They are active, upright, and well proportioned. They have a straight head and open forehead and countenance, expressive of pride and even ferocity. Their features are regular, though their noses appear rather narrow and sunk between the eyes. Their eyes are bright, always

black, and never quite open; but their sight is doubly more distant than ours. Their sense of hearing is also superior. Their teeth are regular, very white, and never fail even in advanced age. Their eyebrows are very scanty; they have no beard, and very little hair on other parts of their bodies. The hair of their heads is thick, very long, large, shining, black, and never light. They never lose their hair, which becomes only partially grey when they have attained the age of eighty years. Their hands and feet are smaller and better made than those of Europeans, and the necks of females not so full as among other Indian nations." Azara has drawn a striking portrait of the moral character of this people, displaying in a high degree that stern fortitude and constitutional apathy for which the natives of the New World are remarkable. He says:—"Ils ne connaissent ni jeux, ni danses, ni chansons, ni instrumens de musique, ni société ou conversations oiseuses. Leur air est si grave qu'on ne peut y distinguer les passions. Leur rire se réduit à entr'ouvrir legèrement les coins de la bouche sans jamais s'éclater. Ils n'ont jamais une voix grosse et sonore, et ils parlent toujours très bas sans crier, pas même pour se plaindre lorsqu'on les tue. Ils n'adorent aucune divinité, et n'ont aucune religion." They go almost entirely naked, and never make any attempt to cultivate the ground. With all this they display great activity and address, as well as valour in their warlike enterprises.

The other tribes in the vicinity of the Charruas are the Yaros on the eastern shore of the Uruguay; the Bohanes to the northward of the Yaros; both of which nations have been exterminated by the Charruas: the Chonos, inhabiting the isles of the Uruguay; the Minnaues, on the plains northward of the Parana, near its junction with the Uruguay; the Guenoa, a wandering people, also on the eastward of the Uruguay. Azara represents the languages of these tribes as entirely different, from which it may be presumed that they are at least unintelligible to each other. But Hervas says that the Minnaues, Bohanes, and Charruas were originally of the same race with the Guenoa and Yaro, though there is a difference of dialect between these nations. Azara

describes the persons of the Minnaues as very nearly resembling those of the Charrua, particularly in complexion and features. It appears that they are all in the very lowest degree of social existence, and that they all wear the barbot, a piece of wood in the lower lip perforated for the purpose, a custom in which most of the nations of Paraguay as well as some of those in North America participate.

Paragraph 8.—The Guayanas.

The Guayanas are said by Azara to be a distinct race from the Guarani, with whom they are identified by M. d'Orbigny. Their language, according to Azara, is quite different from that of the Guarani.

The Guayanas or Gualache are chiefly interesting on account of their physical characters, which, like those of the Boanos, afford an example of the xanthous variety appearing in a South American race. Such at least is the testimony of Azara. They are naked savages, but subsist, like the Guarani, chiefly on the fruits which they cultivate. They live, according to Azara, in the midst of the forests situated to the eastward of the Uruguay, from the river Guairay towards the north, and likewise in the woods, which are to the eastward of the Parana, being considerably above the village del Corpus. According to Hervas, their former abodes were to the northward of the river Iguazu, which falls through a mountainous region into the Parana.

The stature of the Guayanas is equal to that of the Spaniards, and they are well-proportioned though somewhat meagre. "This nation," says Azara, "differs from all others within my knowledge in its colour, which is decidedly of a clearer, that is, a brighter hue; besides this, some of these savages have blue eyes, and ugly and haughty countenances. They preserve their eyebrows, eyelashes, and the hair of their bodies, which is scanty, and they have no beard. They are peaceable and even kind to strangers."

SECTION III.—*Tribes in the Provinces of Los Chiquitos and Los Moxos.*

The same physical type with some characteristic variations prevails, according to M. d'Orbigny, from whom we have the best account of these nations, among the tribes of Chaco and those of the provinces of the inland country immediately to the northward. These nations differ much from each other in their habits and manners and dispositions. The diversity is accounted for, in the opinion of D'Orbigny, by referring to the great difference of the local conditions under which the several races of people exist, and probably the same causes may have given origin to the varieties observable in their physical type. The plains of Chaco, as we have observed, afford an extensive pasture-ground for nomadic and equestrian tribes, who wander through vast spaces and imitate in their manners the nations of High Asia: the country of the Chiquitos, consisting of low hills covered with forests and intersected by numerous small streams, confines the people to the places of their birth, where they live in little villages and cultivate the soil. The Moxos, on the other hand, dwell in vast marshy savannahs, subject to frequent inundations and traversed by immense rivers, which they are obliged to navigate in boats. The Moxos are fishing tribes, the ichthyophagi of the river lands of the interior. The villages of the Chiquitos contained a family or clan in each village: among them the men were naked; the women covered with a loose and gaily decorated garment. They buried with their dead, like other savages, arms and provisions for their use in another world.

The Chiquitos are remarkable for the liveliness of their dispositions, for their fondness for dancing and music, for their kind and sociable temper, their hospitality, their freedom from jealousy, for their perseverance, and for the facility with which they embraced the Christian religion. We must not, however, suppose that all the tribes proved themselves equally docile; the martyrdom of several Jesuits would prove the

contrary; but once baptised, they persevered, and at this time could not be induced to return to the woods and to the savage state. In this they differ from the people of the plains, who are still what they were at the era of their first discovery. The nation of the Chiquitos proper were the most easily converted, and doubtless drew others by their example.

The features of the Chiquitos, according to M. d'Orbigny, differing from those of the nations of Chaco, might serve as a type of the races inhabiting the hilly tracts in the centre of America. They have round heads, of large size, seldom compressed at the sides; a round and full face; cheek-bones not prominent; a low and arched forehead; noses always short and but slightly flattened, and nostrils much less dilated than the southern nations; eyes full of expression and vivacity, small and horizontally placed; in some instances, which are the exceptions, slightly drawn out at the outer corners, which makes them appear a little elevated and oblique. Their lips are thin, their teeth good, their mouths small; their chins rounded and short; their eyebrows narrow and gracefully arched: they have a thin beard, not curled, which grows only at an advanced age, and never covers more than the upper lip and the under-part of the chin: their hair is long, black, and sleek, and in extreme old age grows yellow, but never white. Their features, on the whole, differ much from the European type.

The Moxos resemble the Chiquitos in their moral qualities, which are, with some modifications, common to all these inland nations. Before the conquest they were scattered in villages fixed on the banks of rivers or lakes, or in the midst of woods: they were fishermen, hunters, or cultivators of the soil. The chase was only their occasional recreation: fishing was their necessary employment, and agriculture procured for them provisions as well as the materials for preparing a favourite liquor, which, as among the Chiquitians, was made in a common house where strangers were received, and where on certain days the inhabitants of the village met to drink, sing, and dance. Their amusements in general had a character of gravity that was not ob-

served among the Chiquitians, and their customs were more barbarous. A Moxos would sacrifice his wife if she miscarried, through superstition, and his children if they were twins, while the mother often got rid of her children if they were troublesome to her. Marriage was a convention that might be dissolved at the wish of the parties, and polygamy was of ordinary occurrence. Being habitually in their canoes, they explored the streams, which they were ever traversing, whether for hunting or fishing, or going to or from their habitations. They were all, more or less, warriors, but tradition has only preserved the name of one cannibal tribe who ate their prisoners: these were the Canichana, who even to this day are a terror to the other tribes. The manners of this nation have been modified by the discipline of the missions, but they retain many of their original customs.

With each of these two principal nations, the Chiquitos and the Moxos, M. d'Orbigny has associated several tribes of inferior note, who resemble them respectively in habits and physical characters, but speak different languages, which may perhaps hereafter be discovered to be merely dialects of the two principal idioms. Thus, with the Chiquitians he has classed the Samucus, who amount in number to 2250 souls, while the Chiquitians are 14,925, and the whole class of tribes referred to this department, including ten other nations, are only 19,235. Of these the whole number except 1500 have been converted or reduced under the missions. The Moxos are reckoned at 13,620. The Itonamas, Cayuvavas, who are joined to them and next in numbers, are not 4000, and the eight nations of this mission are altogether 27,247 persons. They are small people, their stature varying from five feet two inches to five feet four inches. It is said that these nations in their complexion are fairer than the Guarani.*

* D'Orbigny, vol. ii.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORY, PHYSICAL CHARACTERS, AND PSYCHOLOGY OF THE NATIVE RACES OF AMERICA.

In the preceding chapters of this book I have endeavoured to sketch a brief outline of the history, physical description, and psychology of the several races of people who formed at the era of its discovery the population of the American continent. I shall now make some general remarks on the bearings of these facts on the history of mankind.

The following inferences appear to result from the survey of the American nations.

1. That all the different races, aboriginal in the American continent, or constituting its earliest known population, belong, including the Esquimaux, as far as their history and languages have been investigated, to one family of nations.

2. That these races display considerable diversities in their physical constitution, though, if we may place reliance on the preceding observation, derived from one original stock, and still betraying indications of mutual resemblance.

3. That there is nothing in the physical structure of these races tending to prove an original diversity from the rest of mankind.

4. There is nothing in their psychology so different from other nations as to give any reason for supposing them a different species.

I shall add a few remarks on each of these heads, which will be little more than recapitulations and references to the facts from which they are collected.

1. The proofs of original connection between the different nations of America have been fully stated in the first chapter

of this book. They are principally derived from the analysis of languages. This argument is confirmed by a general resemblance in the physical and moral characters of different nations. The same view of the subject is generally taken by the American ethnologists. The only question seems to be as to the Esquimaux. Writers whose researches are confined to physical observations exclude the Esquimaux from the American family and join them to the Northern Asiatic or Hyperborean; but philologers, such as Heckewelder, Du Ponceau, M. von Humboldt, Vater, and Gallatin, consider it undoubted that the Esquimaux are as much a member of the American family as the Aztecas or the Algonquins, and it is impossible to doubt this conclusion without calling in question all the historical results of researches into the history of languages.

The Esquimaux, however, physically considered, form a link which unites the conformation of the North Asiatic with that of the American race.

2. The facts which establish the second observation are scattered through the different chapters of this book. There is, indeed, a prevalent general type which may be recognised in most of the native races of both North and South America, and which is perceptible both in colour and configuration, and tends to illustrate the tendency of physical characters to perpetuate themselves; but from this type we have seen many deviations which are sufficient to prove that it is not a specific character. The Esquimaux furnish a strong instance. The deviations noticed by M. de Humboldt and M. d'Orbigny and others between the South American nations as to colour, form, and stature, afford proof that varieties spring up in these as in other races of mankind, and approximate to the characters of other departments of the human family.

It has been said that the varieties of colour in the American nations do not display the same relations to climate as those which are noted in other parts of the world. It is, indeed, true that the coppery or red tinge seems to be more generally prevalent among them than elsewhere. This colour, it may be observed, is not peculiar to the Americans. It seems to be the same hue, if we can judge from the descriptions given by travellers, as the red of the Foulah and Fellatah and

Kafir nations in Africa, and of several tribes on the borders of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. But the assertion that the colour of the human skin has in America no relation to climate is only the result of careless and hasty generalisation. The reader may be convinced of this by comparing the black Californians who struck La Pérouse and other travellers as the almost exact counterparts of the slaves of a Negro plantation in the West Indies, with the white Haidah Kolushians and other nations of the eastern coast further northward, whose complexion was said by Portlock to be nearly that of a fair English woman. The Esquimaux are reckoned among white races, though not fair or xanthous. If, indeed, we may believe Charlevoix, many of them assume that variety, some of the appearances of which certainly display themselves, as we have seen, in the high tracts of the Rocky Mountain-chain.

A fact observed by M. d'Orbigny must be taken into consideration. This writer informs us that the colour of the South American nations bears a very decided relation to the dampness or dryness of the atmosphere. People who dwell for ever under the shade of dense and lofty forests clothing the deep valleys which lie under the precipitous declivities of the eastern branches of the Cordillera, and the vast luxuriant plains of the Orinoko and Maragnon, are comparatively white, while the Quichua, exposed to the solar heat in dry open spaces of the mountains, are of a much deeper shade. This is perhaps very analogous to what occurs in other parts of the world, though the fact has not been so precisely noted. M. d'Orbigny is not the only person who has made the observation in regard to the South American nations. Sir Robert Schomburgk, a most intelligent traveller, and a man of accurate observation, who has traversed many parts of South America and has attentively studied the history of the native inhabitants, without having seen the work of D'Orbigny, has made to me precisely the same remark as a general result of his personal observation on the native inhabitants of different regions in the New World.

In considering the physical relations of the American races with those of Asia, we must advert to the strong resemblance

noted by Spix and Martius between some nations of the western part of America and the Chinese, a resemblance confirmed by a very close approximation in the form of the skull, which I have before pointed out.

4. With respect to the psychological characters of the American nations, I must refer to what has been said in the introductory chapter, and to facts elsewhere adduced which confirm the same view of the subject.

That the intellectual faculties of the American nations are inferior to those of other races, and that they are insusceptible of improvement, can never be said by those who consider the scientific acquirements of the ancient Mexicans. In the Old World it has often been said that nations have no tendency to emerge from barbarism and to cultivate arts and sciences until the impulse is communicated from without; that they never improve themselves, but wait the fortunate hour when some stranger shall introduce at least the rudiments of knowledge. But the Mexicans alone and unaided, as it would seem, have actually achieved this great advancement. From a wild hunting race and one resembling, as it would appear highly probable, the red warriors and hunters of North America, they became a great and wealthy agricultural nation, and cultivated fine arts and astronomy and a sort of literature, which was yet advancing at the era of their conquest by the Spaniards. A similar talent exhibits itself in the North Americans. The admirable invention of the Cherokee Sequoyah, who discovered a method of representing in letters the vocabulary of his language, which, according to the most intelligent judges, is more aptly fitted to the purpose than any modification of the old Asiatic alphabets, is a striking instance of literary ingenuity.*

It is quite a mistake to represent the American nations as universally and unalterably addicted to the chase and to the roving life of hunters. Several nations both in Central and

* Father Le Jeune, answering in one of his letters the objections made to the prospect of converting and civilising the native Americans, says it was admitted on all hands that they were superior in intellect to the peasantry of France, and he proposed that labourers should be sent from France to work for them. Gallatin's Synopsis, p. 156.

South America had been long cultivators of the soil, as it is well known. The northern race of Esquimaux, and the southern tribe who emigrated from the Pampas to the Land of Fire, have no other sustenance than what they obtain from the sea; and the history of the tribes on the inland lakes who live upon the waters and have become almost amphibious, give sufficient token that the American aborigines are not uniformly or by natural instinct averse to a maritime life.

The most remarkable instance of change in the habits of an aboriginal nation that has occurred in North America is that displayed by the Cherokees. Unlike what has happened to many other native races, the numbers of the Cherokees, according to Mr. Gallatin, have during the last forty years increased. They now amount to 15,000 souls, including those who have been removed into Louisiana, and exclusively of 1,200 Negro slaves, whom they have captured or purchased from the Anglo-Americans. The history of their improvement is very curious. By Mr. Gallatin it is attributed to the introduction among them of slavery. In predatory incursions they carried away slaves from Carolina, whom they employed in agriculture. Observing the advantages which accrued to the owners of slaves, the free men who had no such aids were gradually induced to work for themselves. In the year 1825 the Cherokees still remaining in their country used annually nearly 3,000 ploughs, and had upwards of 2,200 cattle and 46,000 swine. Mr. Catlin, who visited their settlement on the Arkansas, informs us that the Cherokees and Owahs and Muskhogees in that country have fine farms and immense fields of wheat, and live in well-built houses. He adds that the Creeks as well as the Cherokees and Choktaws have good schools and charities established among them, conducted by excellent and pious men, from whose example they are drawing great and lasting benefits. The Cherokees have now written laws, are improving in the arts of social life, and seem destined to preserve their name to future ages and to prove to the world that the native races of America are capable of receiving and appropriating the blessings of Christianity and of true civilisation.

With these facts before us, I think we cannot admit the

supposition that the American race is naturally and instinctively different from the rest of mankind.

There seems to be no great difficulty in the supposition that people from some tribe or tribes of the extreme north-east crossed over Behring's Strait or passed along the Aleutian chain of islands from Asia to America in an early period, and formed a nation in the New World, who, after constructing or rather developing into its complex form a primitive speech, of which all the polysynthetic idioms are derivatives or imitations, spread themselves over the whole continent of America, and being thereby scattered, soon separated into particular hordes, which became the germs of many particular nations. The number and the diversity of languages at the present day require that we should assume an early era for this event, and the rapidity with which the human species is propagated under favourable circumstances removes any difficulty that may attend the supposition.*

* See Gallatin's Synopsis, p. 148.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONCLUSION OF THE WHOLE WORK.

I HAVE endeavoured in the several parts of this work, which I am now concluding, to lay before my readers an outline of the history of all the most remarkable races of men. I have traced the genealogy of nations, if I may be allowed to use that expression, as far as I have been enabled to pursue it, by observing relations of languages, and, where such evidence was to be found, by historical testimonies or other indications. The principal object of these researches has been to furnish the groundwork of a comparative inquiry into the physical and psychological characters of various races, with a view of determining how far these characters are permanent or subject to change, and whether they are in their nature specific distinctions, or merely accidental or acquired and transmutable varieties. I must now endeavour to sum up the general results to which the several divisions of this inquiry have led; and as I have already, at the conclusion of each separate part of my work, made a tolerably full recapitulation of its contents and of the evidence to be thence collected, I hope to conclude what remains in a few brief passages.

1. In the first volume of this work, but in the second book, I endeavoured to point out the peculiarities in organic structure which more or less generally characterise tribes of people the most dissimilar to each other, or to describe the most strongly marked *anatomical diversities of human races.* These diversities were afterwards compared with the phenomena of variation which are known to take their rise in various tribes of the animal kingdom, and especially in the

mammiferous species. From a consideration of the facts which belong to this department of my inquiry, and a comparison of different tribes with each other, an inference appeared to result that all the diversities of anatomical structure that are known to characterise the different tribes of men are mere varieties and do not amount to specific differences.

2. I have likewise, in a separate chapter, compared the physiological characters of different tribes, having first, by a tolerably extensive induction, established the fact that between different species, properly so termed, there are in general strongly-marked diversities with relation to the great laws of the animal economy, and that each species has a distinct physiological character. The conclusion which evidently resulted was, that no differences such as those above described are to be found among human families, and that whatever varieties exist in these respects are the effects of external agencies, and the tendency to variation which such agencies call into activity.

3. I have endeavoured to draw a similar comparison between the psychological characters of human races, and to show how different is the conclusion thus obtained from that which results from the comparison of originally distinct species of organised beings. I must refer my readers to the facts which I have collected, proving that specific instincts and separate psychical endowments are characteristic of all the different tribes of sentient beings in the universe, and likewise to the conclusion which I have adopted, and which, if I am not mistaken, has been fully established on an extensive survey of historical facts, that the same inward conscious nature and the same mental faculties are common to all the races of men.

Another argument in proof of the unity of species in mankind, distinct from all those which have been already mentioned, has been derived from the unrestricted propagation of mixed breeds in the human species, while it is well known that proximate species, which, though analogous, are yet distinct from each other, as the ass and the horse, produce mules or hybrids. I have endeavoured to prove that this criterion, which, though formerly maintained by most naturalists, has

been for some time abandoned, is yet under certain modifications sound and capable of being applied to the particular question which has relation to human races. With regard to this subject I must refer my readers to what I have said in the first volume of these Researches.

The preceding arguments in proof of the unity of the human species, founded on analogies with the general laws of organised nature, were set forth in the second book contained in the first volume of this work. In the remaining volumes, while tracing the history of particular races of men, I have collected a multitude of facts in confirmation of the same arguments.

This investigation, with its accompanying details, comprised under the term Ethnography, occupies the whole remaining volumes of my work. In the successive accounts of various races I have taken occasion to show that all the different physical and psychological characters, which had been before proved *by analogy* to be within the limits of mere *variation* in species, have actually arisen in repeated instances, and have generally displayed themselves under the influence of similar external agencies;—that their origination may be historically proved. Whether the facts which I have adduced are conclusive in every part of this long investigation, my readers must judge for themselves. I am persuaded that they will, for the most part, regard the inferences which I have drawn as sufficiently established. These inferences may be found in general collected in the recapitulating and concluding chapters at the end of each particular book. It will be seen that most if not all the leading characters which distinguish particular human families or races have been known to originate, and, having once been displayed, have continued to appear under circumstances favourable to their propagation. In some instances such physical peculiarities have become permanent and typical of particular tribes through a long series of generations, approximating to the character of specific distinctions. Transitions from one physical character to another strikingly different have sometimes taken place suddenly or in a single generation, as in the occasional appearance of the xanthous variety

among the dark-coloured races in elevated situations or in cold climates. In more frequent examples such changes have been brought about in many successive gradations, as in the deviations which are noted among Negro and Polynesian tribes in Africa and in the Oceanic countries. It must be observed, moreover, that the changes alluded to do not so often take place by alteration in the physical character of a whole tribe simultaneously, as by the springing up in it of some new congenital peculiarity, which is afterwards propagated and becomes a character more or less constant in the progeny of the individuals in whom it first appeared, and is perhaps gradually communicated by intermarriages to a whole stock or tribe. This, as it is obvious, can only happen in a long course of time.

If we suppose it to be conceded that all human races are of one species, technically so termed, and that they are not distinguished from each other by characters ever constant and immutable, and such as cannot have been produced in a breed or race which had been previously destitute of them, the question still remains, what is the proof that all races actually descended from one stock or one parentage? It is not self-evident that many families of the same species were not created at first to supply at once with human as well as with other organised beings various regions of the earth. This, indeed, is improbable when we take into account the almost universally rapid increase of living species, and the surprising efficacy of the means every where contrived by nature both for their multiplication and dispersion, which would seem to be superfluous, or at least much greater than could be requisite, on the hypothesis that a multitude of each tribe existed from the beginning. But this consideration is, perhaps, not fully conclusive, and we require to know what has been the law of nature in this respect.

To this problem I have endeavoured to furnish a solution in the first volume of my work. The first book is occupied with an investigation of facts relating to the migrations and diffusion of different tribes of organised beings over the globe. It would seem, *à priori*, very improbable that much information could be collected on this subject sufficiently precise and

particular to lead to satisfactory results, since we possess no *history*, properly so termed, of the migrations and dispersion of the inferior tribes, and here the resource which has so remarkably supplied the place of historical documents in the investigations relating to human races and their dispersion entirely fails. But in reality the sum of information collected since the time of Pennant in regard to the diffusion of organised beings over different parts of the world is, when taken altogether, remarkably extensive and accurate. It appears, indeed, to be amply sufficient to establish, in the most conclusive manner, one or two general facts connected with the primitive history of living tribes, and this not in one but in all departments of organised nature. It has been observed in both the animal and vegetable kingdoms that while tribes of the most simple structure are spread in the present time and appear to have been originally diffused over the most distant regions, races of a higher and more elaborate organisation exist only in places to which it is generally obvious but always probable that they may have obtained access from some particular spot, apparently the local centre and primitive habitation of the tribe. Hence we derive each tribe among the higher and more perfectly organised creatures, whether locomotive or fixed, whether animals or plants, from one original point and from a single stock. We are, *à fortiori*, at liberty to apply this conclusion to the instance of the human species, or to infer that the law of nature, otherwise universal or very general in its prevalence, has not been in this case transgressed, where such an exception would be of all cases the most improbable. In the history of mankind various subordinate phenomena, though necessarily partial in their bearing, have given us confirmations of this doctrine. Such facts have been occasionally noticed in the course of the preceding volumes. The evidence, derived from various investigations, applied successively to different departments of nature, from which the general inference above-stated was at first separately deduced, will be found, as I have said, collected in the first book.

NOTE ON THE BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY.

§ 1. *On the Shortness of the Period of Time allowed by the received System of Chronology for the Origin of Nations.*

It has been observed that one of the greatest difficulties connected with the opinion that all mankind are descended from one primitive stock arises from the shortness of the period of time allowed, by the received chronology, for the developement of those physical varieties, which distinguish the different races of men. A learned and very acute writer who has reviewed the former volumes of this work in one of the periodical journals, has said, "the author scarcely avows to himself, what he must feel, viz. that a lapse of time requisite to bring about such changes as he supposes to have taken place is far greater than the limits of received history allow."* The writer who has made this remark admits that the evidence which I have brought forward is sufficient to prove that the influence of climate and other external agents has in reality given rise to great and striking physical varieties; but he contends that this influence must have been exerted during a long course of years before such phenomena, at first sporadic and but gradually multiplied, could have become so diffused by propagation as to be found at length common to a whole family or breed, and typical or characteristic of a particular tribe or race. The force of this observation rests on the period of time from which the varieties of the human form and complexion can be proved to have existed. It has been said with reference to this subject that Egyptian paintings which may be dated at 1000 or 1500 years before the Christian era, display the forms and complexions of the Negro, the Egyptian, and of some Asiatic nations distinctly marked.† The chronological system founded by modern writers on some passages in the Bible allows only 848 years to have elapsed between the earliest of these dates and the era of the Noachic Deluge, when the population of the world for the

* See the last number of the New Quarterly Review.

† Primeval History by the Reverend John Kenrick.

second time began. This interval, even if we lengthen it by supposing that the antiquity of the Egyptian monuments has been carried too far back by some centuries, is much shorter than the period of time which we should conjecture to be requisite for the production of such national diversities as those which are observed in the painted figures pourtrayed in Egyptian tombs.

I scarcely think that the difficulties which arise from the received system of chronology in relation to the early existence of physical varieties are greater than those which are connected with the ancient history of different nations. Many writers who have been by no means inclined to raise objections against the authority of the Sacred Scriptures, and in particular Michaelis,* have felt themselves embarrassed by the shortness of the interval between the Noachic Deluge and the period at which the records of various nations commence, or the earliest date to which their historical memorials lead us back. The extravagant claims to a remote and almost fathomless antiquity made by the fabulists of many ancient nations have vanished before the touch of accurate criticism; but after abstracting all that is apparently mythological from the early traditions of the Indians, Egyptians, and some other nations, the probable history of some of them seems still to reach up to a period too remote to be reconciled with the short chronology of Usher and Petavius. This has been so universally felt by all those writers who have entered upon the investigation of primeval history that it is superfluous to dwell upon the subject; and as the difficulty in question does not appear to bear with greater weight on the investigations which are the subject of this work than on the inquiries of the historian and chronologer, I might have avoided the discussion, had it not been pointed out as one which is necessary for the support of my argument, and for establishing the probability of the main conclusion that all mankind are the offspring of one family. On this account I feel myself called upon to state the opinion which I have been led to adopt in regard to the received chronology; and as the statement necessarily involves matters connected with biblical criticism and remote from the nature of physical

* No modern writer has entered more fully into the difficulties of the Biblical chronology than Michaelis. Some of his papers on this subject were published in the Commentaries of the Royal Society of Göttingen, others in the Göttingen Magazin, but the principal of them in the different volumes of his "Neue Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek." See also the "Anmerkungen" appended to his German version of the Pentateuch.

inquiries, I have purposely reserved all that I shall say on this subject for a separate note.

It must be observed that many writers both in older and more recent periods have preferred a different mode of computing the Scripture chronology to the short scheme which allows only 4004 years between the creation of the world and the incarnation of our Lord. Julius Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus extended this interval by many centuries, as those modern writers have also done who with the learned Dr. Hales have preferred the longer system of years given by the version of the Septuagint to the shorter numbers of the original Hebrew text.

The principal motive for the selection of the numbers given by the Septuagint has been in general, as it would appear, the desire of rendering the biblical chronology more compatible with the tenor of ancient history. But it has been justly remarked that nothing can be more in contravention of the correct and well-understood laws of critical inquiry than the preference of one biblical text to another on the ground of the facility of adapting it to historical facts. The best critics seem to be unanimous in preferring the authority of the Hebrew original to that of the Greek translation of the Scriptures with respect to other parts of the Old Testament, and there seems to be no sufficient reason for any exception with regard to those passages on which the computation of dates has been founded.*

It must be allowed, on a review of this whole subject, that both the early history of nations (which, however, perhaps with the exception of the Egyptian, is after all merely traditional in regard to remote periods,) could be more easily understood or more easily arranged, and the origination of physical diversities more satisfactorily accounted for, if we were at liberty to extend by some centuries or perhaps by one or two thousand years the period of time supposed to have intervened between the Deluge of Noah and the origin of the great Asiatic monarchies. One method alone, as far as I know, has yet been pointed out by which this can be done without injury to the authority of the Sacred Records. I shall explain this to my readers after some preliminary observations which will be found not irrelevant to the subject.

* The question as to the preference of one system of numbers over another, between the Hebrew, Greek, and Samaritan texts, has been fully discussed and determined in favour of the former by Michaelis in the "Comment. Nov. Soc. Reg. Göttingensis."

§ 2. *Examination of Scripture Chronology. Later Period.*

There is no necessity for my entering into the controversy agitated between the geologists and those who maintain that the whole material universe was created in six days according to the generally received meaning of the words. I shall only observe by the way that if Dathe's well-known and generally admired version of the Mosaic books is correct in the first passage of Genesis, there is no room whatever for this controversy, and that the Creation of Man may have been subsequent to that of the planet on which he exists by six millions of years without in the least infringing on the literal meaning of the scriptural narrative.* I have only to consider the chronology of the Bible as far back as the origin of the human race.

Perhaps it was to be expected, that the data for accurate chronology would be more ample and more satisfactory during the later than the earlier periods of the Biblical History.

We are enabled in the history of the Israelites to carry up the computation of time with a near approach to perfect accuracy nearly twice as far as in that of any other nation. The chronology of Greece, Rome, Persia, reaches back to the fifth century B. C.; that of the Israelites to the tenth. The synchronising reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel enable us to compute (with the addition of 37 years of the reign of Solomon, for which we have warrant) the space of time that elapsed from the Building to the Destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem. We have thus a complete series of dates through four centuries of the Jewish history, and the exact era when this series terminates is ascertained and adjusted to the history of the Persian empire and the chronology of Greece by means of

* Dathe has remarked a fact which is quite evident when once pointed out, that the word יהי in the first chapter of Genesis has the meaning of ἐγένετο—most nearly expressed by our word *became*. The words may thus be paraphrased.—Gen. i. 1. "In the beginning—ἐν ἀρχῇ—God created the universe;" intimating that the world came not into being by chance nor by any of the physical processes by which heathen cosmologists accounted for its origination, but by the fiat of an Almighty Creator. Gen. i. 2.—"The earth *had become* without form and void, an abyss enveloped in thick darkness, when the Spirit of God began the work of renovating it." If the writer had in his conception the interposition of a period of vast duration during which many creations had taken place, he could not have used more apt expressions.

Ptolemy's canon, which contains the names and reigns of the kings of Babylon mentioned in the second book of Kings.*

We thus go back in the Israelitish history with some degree of certainty to the Building of Solomon's Temple, dated by Usher (and this date cannot be far wrong) A. C. 1012.

§ 3. *Of the Data for Chronology between the Ages of Solomon and of Moses.*

The case is very different with regard to the second great period of time in Biblical History: I mean that between the Exode or departure of the Israelites from Egypt and the Building of the Temple. In subsequent times attempts were made to determine the length of this interval, but it would appear that no means of precise computation existed, and different writers seem to have adopted different methods of reckoning. A passage in the Acts of the Apostles gives us a summary of the succession of events connected with periods of time, which St. Paul introduced into one of his discourses;† but this appears to be professedly given as a mere approximation to the truth, and it was probably the scheme of chronology adopted by the Jews and prevalent in the age of the Apostle. After the Exode, he says that God suffered the manners of the Israelites in the wilderness about a forty years' space—ὡς τεσσαρακονταέτη χρόνον‡—until the division of the land. After that event, by the space of about 450 years, he gave them judges until Samuel the prophet. This computation was made, as it would appear, by reckoning up the periods during which particular judges are stated to have governed Israel. Modern writers who have endeavoured to compute the reigns of the judges collectively have differed by much in their reckoning: some have supposed them all to have reigned successively; others have looked upon them as synchronising more or less. It is evident that the book of Judges presents no data for an accurate computation, nor is the end of this period of history precisely connected in the Old Testament with the period which follows in the book of Samuel. For any thing that appears to the contrary 50 or 100 years might have intervened between the last reign with which the book of Judges terminates and

* See Falconer's Chronological Tables.

† Acts of the Apostles, ch. xiii. v. 18.

‡ An expression which is very indefinite,

the age of Eli, with which the book of Samuel commences. St. Paul mentions the different periods in terms which prove that he regarded the sum as but an approximation to the precise date.

It would appear that a different method of adding up particular dates and connecting the events of this part of history had prevailed in earlier times. The author of the second book of Samuel reckoned only 480 years from the Exode to the Building of the Temple; whereas, according to the computation adopted by St. Paul, we cannot assign less than 631 years to the same period, as will appear from the following statement of the particulars:—

Passed in the wilderness	40 years.
Conquest of Canaan and age of Joshua and the Elders	26*
Judges, according to St. Paul	450
Samuel's government after the death of Eli	32*
Saul's reign (St. Paul)	40
David's reign	40
Solomon before the Building of the Temple	3
	631

Even if we suppose the first 40 years to have comprised the whole interval between the Exode and the division of Canaan (which is inconsistent with Sacred History) and the period of 450 to reach from that event to the end of Samuel's government, we shall only reduce the whole period to (26+32=) 58—631=573. This will carry back the period of the Exode to 1585 years B. C., whereas Usher, following the author of the second book of Samuel, dates the same event 480+1012=1492.

From this discrepancy we may infer, securely as it seems to me, that the Biblical writers had no revelation on the subject of chronology, but computed the succession of times from such data as were accessible to them. The duration of time, unless in so far as the knowledge of it was requisite for understanding the Divine Dispensation, was not a matter on which supernatural light was afforded; nor was this more likely than that the facts connected with physical science should have been revealed.

* Dr. Hales's Chronology.

§ 4.—*Of the Data for Chronology between Moses and Abraham.*

The third period, reckoning backwards, from the Call of Abraham to the Exodus, is, according to the text of the Hebrew Bible, at least 625 years, as appears from the following remarks.

Abraham, when he departed from Haran to Canaan, was 75 years old—Gen. xii. 4; when Isaac was born, he was aged 100—Gen. xxi. 5, leaving 25 years prior to Isaac's birth. Isaac was 40 years old when he married. Jacob's age was 130 when he went to Egypt. 25+40+130=195. The exact time spent by the Israelites in Egypt was 430.* Thus, 430+195=625.

The Hebrew text declares most plainly that the abode of the Israelites in Egypt was 430 years, and this is expressed in a most pointed manner in connection with the appointment of the Passover on a particular night, which is stated precisely to have been the 430th anniversary—the self-same night—from the time when the Israelites arrived in Egypt. This collective sum offers a chronological difficulty. In Exodus, vi. 18–20, the years of the four generations† from Levi to Moses are given, and from the collective ages of Kohath, who moreover was born in Palestine, to the 80th year of Moses only 350 years are collected. In order to avoid this discrepancy the Septuagint and Samaritan‡ inserted the words "and in Canaan," making the date 430 include the time spent by the Hebrews in Canaan previously to the descent into Egypt. An attentive reader of the passage will perceive that this is plainly an interpolation, and it has been shown

* "Habitatio autem filiorum Israel quâ manserunt in Aegypto, fuit CCCCXXX annorum. Quibus expletis, eâdem die egressus est omnis exercitus Domini de terrâ Aegypti." Vulg. "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was 430 years: and it came to pass at the end of the 430 years, *even the self-same day* it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out of Egypt."

† Kohath lived . . . . . 133 years.
Amram 137
Moses at the Exode 80
350

‡ The expressions in the Septuagint differ from those in the Samaritan, and therefore their collective evidence cannot be brought to oppose the Hebrew. This has been remarked by Michaelis, Neue Orientalische und Exeget. Bibl. 3 Th. S. 192.

by Michaelis that in attempting to extricate us from one difficulty, it involves the history in another, which is still more serious. The recorded increase of the Hebrew people would be physically impossible if 250 years, as commonly supposed by those who adopt the reading of the Samaritan and Septuagint, were allowed to the abode in Egypt, whereas if we follow the Hebrew there is no such difficulty, as it has been fully argued by Michaelis. This writer has in several treatises discussed the question and brought a great deal of curious information to bear upon it. The result is that the difficulty which seems to have induced some of the ancients to alter the text requires a different explanation. It can only be solved, as it would seem, by allowing an omission of several generations in the genealogies of the Israelites. At present only two generations are interposed between Levi and Moses. It is probable that several are omitted. The omission of some generations in oriental genealogies is, as Michaelis observes, a very ordinary thing, the object of the genealogy being answered sufficiently by inserting only the conspicuous and celebrated names which connect an individual with his remote ancestry, to which purpose an enumeration of all the steps in the succession is not requisite. It is well known that St. Matthew in the genealogy of our Lord has omitted three royal generations; and when we consider that from the return from Babylon to the Birth of Christ more than 530 years elapsed, it can hardly be supposed that only fourteen generations had filled up this term, and we are led to suspect that some omissions may here also have been made. Michaelis has shown that similar omissions must have been made in genealogies in other parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, as in that of the house of David given in the book of Ruth.

Although the length of lives and the duration of various periods are occasionally set down in the books of the Pentateuch, it does not appear to have been the intention of the writer to afford by them materials for constructing a system of chronology. There are frequently chasms in the series, and the years given are generally the collective years of men's lives, and not their ages at the birth of the son who succeeds in the series. Yet as far back as the entrance of Abraham into Canaan we have a history of the succession of events and may make an approximation to the real periods of time. The whole duration, if we sum up the different parts without curtailing them, which, as we have seen, has been done by chronologers and other writers on various pretences, carries back the immigration of Chaldæan Shepherds into Palestine to a period considerably more remote than

the received chronology. In the part of history to which we have last referred the Hebrew text allows a much longer space than the Septuagint.

The result of this part of our inquiry is, in the first place, that a much longer space of time must have elapsed than that allowed by modern chronologers between the age of Abraham and the Exode; and, secondly, that generations have certainly been omitted in the early genealogies.

§ 5.—*Of the Composition of the first Part of the Book of Genesis.*

If it be true, as the evidence already cited from the Sacred Scriptures seems to prove, that the history of events from Solomon up to the time of Moses and to that of Abraham is intentionally not constructed on a chronological principle, or in a way that furnishes data for a correct estimate of the lapse of time, it is extremely improbable that the case should be otherwise in regard to the time preceding the emigration of the great patriarch from the land of the Chaldeans.

The twelfth chapter of Genesis commences the history of the Hebrew people from the above period when they first constituted a particular Shemite tribe, distinct from the Assyrians and Chaldeans. The remainder of the book consists of national or rather family memorials delivered with a graphical and circumstantial minuteness of detail which is adapted to such compositions and gives an impression similar to that of contemporary records. The preceding parts of the same book are remarkably different in style and character: they consist of very brief notices of the great revolutions which had previously occurred in the history of mankind from the Creation to the Deluge, and again from the Deluge to the time of Abraham. Their principal object seems to be, not to preserve the thread of history so much as to record the principal dispensations of Providence to the human family in general. There is nothing like the ordinary method of historical narrative. Every thing that happens is brought to pass immediately by the "fiat" of the Almighty Dispenser of rewards and punishments. The descent from Adam to Noah, and again from Noah to Abraham, is marked by two genealogies. But one circumstance which distinguishes this part of the historical Scriptures from all others is the disjointed, and, if we may so say, fragmentary character which belongs to the different passages of history; and it is singular that it should have been left for very recent times to make the

observation, the truth of which is immediately evident to every reader whose attention has once been drawn to the subject, that the first portion of Genesis consists of several distinct and separate documents, which have been compiled or rather copied continuously and without alteration, and set down, with their original titles even prefixed to each, in the proemium to the Old Testament. The compiler appears to have been particularly careful to preserve each original document in its integrity without introducing even such verbal alterations as might have served to give the appearance of unity in composition.* The principal of these documents are the following.

1. The Cosmogony. Gen. i. 1.—ii. 3 †

2. Toldoth ha-Shamaim ve-ha-Arez. History or Generations of the heaven and earth. Gen. ii. 4.—iii. 24.‡

3. History of Cain, Abel, and Seth; and genealogy of Cain's descendants.

4. Sepher Toldoth Adam. The book of the genealogy of Adam, containing the ten generations from Adam to Noah.

5. History of the Sons of God and of the Nephelim or Giants. A fragment, to which no title is prefixed.

6. Toldoth Noah. History of Noah and of the Deluge. Gen. vi. 9.—ix. 29.§

7. Toldoth Beni Noah. Genealogy of the Sons of Noah. Gen. x. containing a brief history of the nations descended from the different sons of Noah.

8. History of Babel and the Confusion of Languages. A fragment, without any title. Gen. xi. 1–9.

9. Toldoth Beni Shem. Genealogy of the posterity of Shem down to Abraham. Gen. xi. 10–26.

10. Toldoth Terah. Genealogy of Terah. Gen. xi. 27 to end.

* Astruc, Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paroit que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse. Bruxelles. 1753.

† See Rosenmüller's Antiquissima Telluris Historia.

‡ The peculiarities of style characteristic of this document are illustrated by Eichhorn, (Einleitung in das alte Testament;) by Gabler, in his Urgeschichte; and by Rosenmüller in a very ingenious paper in Eichhorn's Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Literatur.

§ Astruc, Eichhorn, Gabler, and many other writers have supposed these chapters to be composed of two different histories of the Deluge interwoven, the separate passages of each being distinguished by differences of component words and style, and in some respects by the incidents or circumstances adverted to, and each document when separated containing a tolerably complete narrative of the whole series of events.

Books cited or inserted in the later parts of the Pentateuch.

1. Toldoth Jacob. Gen. xxxvii.

2. A poetical passage from the Amoritish Moschelim or Bards. Numb. xxi. 27–30.*

3. Sepher Milchamot Jehovah. The Book of the Wars of the Lord. Extracts in Numbers xxi.

Besides these it is well known that there are two citations from the Book of Jasher, in Joshua and in 2 Sam. i.†

§ 6.—*Objections.*

Before I proceed further in this inquiry, I must point out what appears to be the bearing of my last observations on the canonical authority of the early portion of Genesis. It will appear to those who have not considered the subject that the sacred authority of this portion of the Pentateuch is materially involved in the inquiry, whether it consists in a series of documents preserved indeed from a period of remote antiquity, but originally composed by persons whose names are unknown, or written, as it is generally supposed, by Moses himself solely from the dictates of revelation and without any aids from historical documents. I shall endeavour to show that the sacred and canonical authority of the book of Genesis is not injured by the adoption of the former of these suppositions.

It may be observed that this mode of conducting an inquiry by anticipating objections contingent on the results is not strictly in accordance with the laws of critical investigation, which require that all such questions shall be determined by evidence without regard to consequences. My apology must be that when the consequences are such as may be thought to involve something in contrariety with great principles otherwise established or impressed upon the conviction, it is not only prudent but right and proper to show, if possible, that the conclusions may be admitted without infringing on these principles.

Some persons will observe that Moses, an inspired writer, could stand in no need of aids from historical documents. To this it will be sufficient to answer that other inspired writers make not infrequent

* See Geddes' restoration of this passage in his notes to the Pentateuch.

† A very ingenious but somewhat fanciful work on the composition of the Pentateuch, in which much of what has been put forth by more recent writers was contained, was published long ago in Ilenke's "Magazin für Religionsphilosophie, Exegese und Kirchengeschichte," entitled "Die allmählige Bildung der den Israëliten heiligen Schriften."

appeals to testimony. For example, St. Luke thought it not derogatory to say in the proemium to his Gospel that he had been "παρηκολουθηκως ἀνωθεν πασιν ἀκριβως"—"assecutus omnia à principio diligenter."

It must, in the first place, be observed that even if the introductory chapters of Genesis were not written nor even compiled by Moses, this would not necessarily impugn their canonical authority, that is, prevent our regarding them as a portion of Sacred Scripture. We shall be prepared to admit this remark when we consider how little is known concerning the authors of several books of the Old Testament. We are quite ignorant who wrote the books of the Judges, the Kings, and Chronicles. Other books which bear the names of particular persons appear to have been so termed from their contents, and not from their authors. Such are the books of Joshua, of Ruth, and of Esther. Samuel appears more likely to have been the author of the books bearing his name, but that cannot have been really the fact. At all events he can only have written a small portion of them, since his death is recorded in the middle of the first book. The books of Samuel, of Kings, and Chronicles, as well as the Scriptures above mentioned, form a principal part of the canon of the Old Testament, the great national work of the ancient Hebrew people, or rather the repository of sacred learning confided to the guardianship of the Israelitish priesthood, and by them preserved and occasionally augmented during all the ages while Judaism maintained in the world the same position which the Christian Church has since held, and while a divinely inspired hierarchy presided over the national worship in the Temple of Jerusalem. During these ages, and in the previous times from the Exode down to the era of the Completion of the Canon, there were several periods which were in a more particular manner ages of sacred literature, when prophets and divinely gifted persons were more especially called to record or foretell the dispensations or the designs of the Almighty towards the Chosen People, and through them towards the human race. These were times of progressive advancement of religious doctrine, in each of which the principles of a true theology and the purposes and attributes of the Supreme Ruler appear to have been more clearly apprehended and set forth than they had previously been, and especially the Advent of Christ more and more distinctly foretold. In a particular point of view the whole body of the Old Testament may be regarded as one work, bearing, as it does, with all the varieties of style and incidental peculiarities, the strongest impress of unity in spirit and conception, and of

direction towards one great aim; yet the different stages of developement are clearly to be traced. Thus in the Psalms, as it has often been observed, is to be traced a higher representation of the divine nature and a more pure and exalted conception of the spiritual attributes of the Deity than in the preceding parts of the Old Testament. Several writers have noted the successive periods of sacred composition. After the age of Moses that of Samuel has been fixed upon as the probable era for the cultivation of literature, when a school of prophets is first mentioned, and when the hierarchy of the Israelites appears to have regained in some degree its ascendancy after long ages of disquiet and desolating warfare. The times of David and Solomon were a sort of Augustan age of Hebrew literature. The age of the great prophets was that of the most sublime poetry. The time of Ezra, after the Captivity, was the era of historical compilation, soon after which the Hebrew language gave way to a more modern dialect. There are indications that the whole of the sacred books passed under several recensions during these successive ages, when they were doubtless copied and recopied and illustrated by additional passages or by glosses that might be requisite in order to preserve their meaning to later times. Such passages and glosses occur frequently in the different books of Moses and in the older historical books, and we may thus in a probable way account for the presence of many explanatory notices and comments of comparatively later date, which, unless thus accounted for, would add weight to the hypotheses of some German writers who deny the high antiquity of the Pentateuch.*

The early portion of the book of Genesis, however some passages may differ from others, considered with reference to style and composition of sentences and the different kinds of figures and representations used in the several parts respectively, forms nevertheless an integral and inseparable part of the whole Bible, which without it would be imperfect and defective. The history of the Creation of the World or the Heptahemeron in the first chapter is closely connected with the Decalogue and the Sabbatic Institution, and was probably set forth at the same time: the history of the Paradisiacal state and the Fall

* Ewald, who admits that the art of writing must have been well-known to the Israelites in the time of Moses, maintains that the oldest part of the Pentateuch, except the Decalogue and a few passages, such as the Song of Moses, was composed in the time of Gideon. A period of conflict and almost of anarchy, when the Israelites had just escaped from their several bondages, appears little adapted to have been the earliest era of literary and historical composition.

of Man comprised in the second and third chapters, and containing what has been termed the πρωτευαγγελιον—protevangelium, or the commencement of prophecies relating to the Messiah; the history of the Universal Deluge and the renovation of the human race, are essential parts of the Old Testament, and their high antiquity and intimate relation to the rest of the Biblical history is supported by innumerable references in the Psalms and other later books. And the subsequent portion of Genesis contains, as it has been observed by Jahn, a statement of the prophecies and promises of which the completion and ratification is to be found in the other Mosaic books, and forms the subject of them, and partly in later scriptures. We might hence conclude that the Ante-Abrahamic as well as the later portion of Genesis is an inseparable part of the Sacred Canon.

§ 7. *Computation of Time during the two first Periods deduced from the two Genealogies.*

Nearly all the data that the Scriptures contain for the computation of time and of the world's age previous to the Call of Abraham are founded on two of the documents above cited, viz. the Sepher Toldoth Beni Adam, or the birth and genealogy of the Sons of Adam; and the Toldoth Beni Shem, or genealogy of the Sons of Shem. Each comprises properly ten generations, Noah being reckoned in both. To each name is subjoined an account of the age of the individual before the birth of his first son, as it would appear; and, secondly, the remainder of his life; and, thirdly, in the first or antediluvian part of the genealogy the total duration of each life. It is by adding up the first series of these numbers that modern writers have endeavoured to determine the period of time which had elapsed between the Creation of the World, or rather the birth of Seth, and the beginning of the proper Israelitish history.

On examining the duration of lives and the ages before the births of the eldest sons recorded in these genealogies in the Hebrew text, in that of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and in the version of the Septuagint, it is well known that a great discrepancy has been found. To these three texts, giving contradictory statements, Michaelis has added a fourth, which differs from each of the three former ones: this is the Ethiopic version, or rather the copies from which the Ethiopic version was made. The discrepancy between these four statements is not in one text or passage, but runs through nearly the whole genealogy. The Samaritan Pentateuch has a different set

of dates from the Hebrew copies, and both from the Septuagint, and all these three from the Ethiopic.

Attempts have been made to discover motives for these alterations, it being supposed that the discrepancies which exist have been introduced by intentional variation and fraudulent design. But no satisfactory reason has ever been assigned, nor is it easy to suppose so many parties to have combined in such a fraud.

It is obvious that all these sets of dates except one must be wrong, and we may consider it as almost certain that the discrepancies have been introduced by mistake, and that the original expressions denoting numbers were not understood. This can be imagined on one hypothesis, viz. that the most ancient copies of Genesis, or at least of these particular documents, contained in the several sections, not the sums of years expressed in words but some numerical marks, the real force of which had been lost in the lapse of time and through various accidents, and that attempts were made at later but different times and by various persons to convert the numbers marked down by numerical signs into words. The Jews of Palestine adopted one method and those resident in Egypt another, while a third was preferred by the scribes employed in copying the ancient manuscripts in the possession of the northern Israelites or Samaritans. It is evident that there was no certain principle of stating these sums of years, and that each party followed a plan different from that preferred by others.

If this supposition is allowed, it will afford a probable solution of many difficulties, and in the first place it reduces the preternatural length of antediluvian life within bounds compatible with the present constitution of nature. It may be supposed that the scribes who originally translated numerical signs into numbers expressed by words in the tables of patriarchs, adopted some erroneous principle of interpretation which greatly augmented the numbers originally denoted by those signs.*

The great longevity of the Ante-Abrahamic patriarchs would be nothing incredible if regarded in the light of a miracle. But it is not so represented. It appears, as the text of the Bible now stands,

* In several instances they appear to have multiplied by ten the probably original numbers. Adam's age may have been 93 years instead of 930: Noah's about 50 when he begat Shem, Ham, and Japhet, instead of 500; and 60, instead of 600, when he went into the ark. But this will not hold throughout; and it is probable that the numerical symbols themselves may have been already much corrupted and changed by previous copyists who had not understood their original meaning.

as a part of the course of nature in the antediluvian period for men to live about ten times as long as the present average duration of human life. If this was the original law of nature, and it pleased the Creator of our race to abridge the length of life by nine-tenths of its primitive duration, which may very well be supposed, such a change, equivalent almost to a new creation, and involving, as it doubtless must have done, many other changes in the nature of other organised beings, in the laws of whose existence a certain harmony is to be traced, such an event would have been a signal and remarkable dispensation, and it would doubtless have been recorded in Scripture.*

It will tend much to confirm this opinion if we attentively consider a passage in the sacred narrative which occurs just after the termination of the period of preternatural longevity, and remark the effect produced on Sarah and Abraham by the prophecy that they should have a son in their old age. It was so much out of the course of nature at that time for a woman to bear children after a certain age that Sarah laughed at the very thought of such a thing, and was accordingly censured for her incredulity. But Abraham was only the tenth from Noah, and his name stands in the list, though at the end of it, of those patriarchs to whom a great longevity is ascribed, though not so great as that of the antediluvians. If her own ancestors had in the generations but just passed partaken of the preternatural duration of life, it could not, as it would seem, have been so extraordinary for a son to be born to parents who, compared with the older patriarchs, were still almost in the threshhold of life. Yet Sarah had never heard of such a thing: the course of natural life was then as it is now, and such protracted powers of childbearing was a thing unknown.†

* It may be thought that the passage, Gen. vi. 3, which is rendered in our version, "My spirit shall not always strive with man: his days shall be an hundred and twenty years," has an allusion to an abbreviation of life to follow after the deluge. But the passage appears to refer to the approaching destruction by the Flood, which this denunciation, made perhaps to Noah, preceded by 120 years. St. Peter is supposed to allude to this passage in 1 Pet. iii. 20, where the long-suffering of God is said to have waited in the days of Noah. The expression, *shall not always*, does not convey the idea of an abbreviation of life from one limit to another. Rosenmüller renders it "omnes post 120 annos interibunt." See Geddes, Crit. Remarks on the Pentateuch.

† The longevity of the patriarchs seems to have been accompanied with a protracted age of procreation in both sexes, for Noah was 500 years old when his three sons were born; and Eve was 130 when Seth was born, after which

This last consideration and the total silence of Scripture as to anything miraculous in the antediluvian longevity, while the late period of Sarah's bearing is so strongly noticed and is referred to in later Scriptures, convince me that the great length of lives recorded in the Ante-Abrahamic times is founded on a mistake in the interpretation of numbers or numerical signs. I am further of opinion that the mistake must have crept in long since the history of Abraham was composed, since it is impossible to suppose that such an inconsistency as would otherwise exist in the narrative could have occurred through inadvertence.

This supposition respecting the ages of the patriarchs does not at all assist me in attaining my principal object, for the sake of which I have entered into this enquiry. That was to show that a longer period may have elapsed than common computation allows. This can only be done on the hypothesis that the genealogies contained in the two documents, Toldoth Beni Adam and Toldoth Beni Shem, like the genealogy of our Lord in St. Matthew's Gospel, were constructed on the principle of omitting some generations. In the genealogy of our Lord it may be observed that the whole series of names is divided into fourteens. This may have been usual for the facility of remembering. But instead of several series of fourteen, we have in Genesis two tables of ten, from Adam to Noah, and from Noah to Abraham inclusive. It is probable that some numerical sign was connected with the name of each patriarch, indicative of his age at his death, and perhaps also at the birth of his eldest son; but these years were denoted with a regard to the history of the individual patriarch, and not with the intent of affording the means of computing the collective duration of time by casting up the numbers together. We find at least no proof that this use of the numbers in the genealogies entered into the conception of the writer. In the early ages of the world genealogy held that relation to history which has long since been given to chronology. The computation of time was not thought of as a thing to be aimed at, or necessary or desirable.*

If these tables stood in the form supposed, we may conjecture that many generations may have been omitted. As St. Matthew has left

it appears that she had children. The age of 130 years was apparently a common one for the birth of eldest children. This is more strikingly out of the present course of nature than even the longevity.

* In one place where the years are given chronology could not have been the object, since the whole duration of lives is set down without any notice of the age of each individual at the birth of his son, which is the thing requisite for the computation of time from genealogies.

out several generations in the sums of fourteen, so it is probable that the first recorder of the Ante-Abrahamic genealogies omitted many in his two series of ten. It was quite sufficient for the purpose contemplated in the construction of these genealogies to indicate by a few steps the line of succession from Shem to Abraham without specifying all the links in the chain. The custom of thus omitting some generations seems to have prevailed among those who devoted their care to the preservation of national archives; and, according to Eichhorn, frequent examples of the kind are to be found in the ancient genealogies of the Arabians. It is probable that the names preserved are those of renowned persons who stood as landmarks in the historical field: they were probably heads of dynasties or founders of great families, or persons by whom some change in regal or patriarchal succession was brought about. Some of the names are only known elsewhere as the names of nations. In another document contained in Genesis, the Toldoth Beni Noah, it would seem that some of the names set down as if they were personal ones are merely national appellatives, as Mizraim, Philistim, Caphtorim. So Arphaxad, which occurs in the line from Shem to Abraham in the tenth chapter. It may, indeed, be supposed that Arphaxad was the name of a man from whom the people so termed were descended, and Ashur that of the ancestor of the Assyrians. Canaan appears evidently to have been a person. There is no evidence contradicting this opinion as to the names in the line of Shem to Abraham, and it is confirmed by observing that the later names are evidently those of persons, as Terah, Nahor, &c.

A genealogical table constructed on the principle here pointed out would answer all the purposes for which it was designed. There is no incorrectness in it, since chronology was not in the scope of the writer. There was nothing erroneous in it at its first formation; and if anything exists in the genealogical tables as they now stand which deserves that epithet, it was introduced into them when the original document was expanded by later copyists into its present form.

§ 8. *Conclusion.*

By some it will be objected to the conclusions at which I have arrived, that there exists, according to my hypothesis, no chronology, properly so termed, of the earliest ages, and that no means are to be found for ascertaining the real age of the world. This I am prepared

to admit, and I observe that the ancient Hebrews seem to have been of the same opinion, since the scriptural writers have always avoided the attempt to compute the period in question. They go back, as we have seen in the instance of St. Paul's computation, to the age of Abraham, at the same time using expressions plainly denoting that they made no pretension to accurate knowledge, and could only approximate to the true dates of events; but they have in no instance, as far as I remember, attempted to carry the computation of time further back, nor has any one writer alluded to the age of the world. An immediate revelation on such a subject was as little to be expected as it was that Joshua should be momentarily inspired with a knowledge of the Copernican system when he issued that celebrated command which caused the sun to remain visible on Mount Gibeon and the moon in the valley of Ajalon. The Hebrew chronology may be computed with accuracy to the era of the Building of the Temple, or at least to that of the Division of the Tribes. In the interval between that date and the arrival of Abraham in Palestine it cannot be ascertained with exactness, but may be computed with a near approximation to truth. Beyond that event we can never know how many centuries nor even how many chiliads of years may have elapsed since the first man of clay received the image of God and the breath of life. Still, as the thread of genealogy has been traced, though probably with many and great intervals, the whole duration of time from the beginning must apparently have been within moderate bounds and by no means so wide and vast a space as the great periods of the Indian and Egyptian fabulists.*

* This general conclusion, as to the extent and limits of chronology deducible from the Hebrew Scriptures, coincides with the result of the Chevalier Bunsen's researches, though the views entertained by that great scholar are, so far as they have yet been explained, different from my own. But that portion of M. Bunsen's work which is devoted to the Sacred Records is not yet complete. When it shall appear, we have reason, from the immense learning of the excellent writer and from his known warm attachment to the cause of revealed religion, to expect a great accession to Biblical Literature.

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